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ABSTRACT

This document presents six papers given at an international conference on educational policymaking and the relationship between the state and the university particularly in light of political developments in Europe and the partnership between the Western European and North American scholarly communities. The first paper, "State University: Agent or Agency?" (Hoke Smith), considers the essential nature of the university and the essence of scholarship. Next, "The Professional Representation of Universities, Lobbying and Professional Associations" (Robert Atwell) examines the role of professional associations on the American higher education scene. "Political Interventions of Higher Education: Comparisons by International Leaders" (Robert L. Caret) describes partnership programs of Towson State University, Maryland, with business and government. The next paper, "Scientific Expertise or How Universities Attain Public Authority" (Michael Daxner) explores the challenges and evolving role for universities in society. The fifth paper, "Government Intervention in Universities: Autonomy/Accountability" (Henry Wasser) looks at European universities' evolving relationships with the state, and the final paper, "The Selective Enhancement of Quality in Florida's Postsecondary Education: Tensions between Excellence and Parity" (Robert O. Berdahl and Susan Martin Studds) examines the operation and campus impacts of three types of quality enhancement strategies. (JB)

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Introduction

In May 1990 the Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, Germany, and the Towson State University , Maryland (USA) scheduled an international conference on the important topic of the relationship between the state an the university.

Since Europe as a whole is facing a process of accelerated unification it requires new structures of academic and scientific cultures Regarding politics in higher education and research in the United States and Canada, we realize that there has always been strong interaction between the processes of educational policy making in North America and Europe. The partnership between the Western European and the North America scholarly communities will maintain its importance facing new development in the East and worldwide. So it is likely that the Canadian and United States educational establishments will be influenced by these exchanges and make adjustments accordingly.

In Order to discuss diverse strategies of intervention in various fields of higher education policy invited researchers and politicians from Europe and North America participated in the conference at the Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg.

The work session topics that had been discussed were:

1. The professional representation of universities, lobbying and professional associations
2. Contracting versus autonomy; the limits of political intervention
3. Intervention strategies to improve the quality of teaching and the institution - How to find allies?
4. Scientific expertise or how universities attain public authority
5. Limited interventions - when a state functions as a resource and/or as a representative of a university

The conference was headed by Prof. Michael Daxner, President of the Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, and Prof. Hoke L. Smith, President of Towson State University.

Margrit Ladenthin, Center for U. S. and Canadian Higher education, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, and Prof. Dean R. Esslinger, Office for International Education, Towson State University, organized the conference.

Hoke Smith

State University: Agent or Agency?

Speech for Oldenburg

I wish to express our appreciation to President Daxner for his initiative and leadership in scheduling this conference on the important topic of "Relationships Between the State and the University." This topic has importance to all of us in higher education but particularly to those who work in state institutions.

In these comments I will consider the essential nature of the university and discuss the essence of scholarship. The scholarly tasks of the university make it imperative that the university be viewed as an agent rather than an agency of the state.

The distinction is subtile but important. An agency of the state is an office of the state whose purpose, functions and methods are determined by the state. An agent is one who works for purposes set by the state but who has significant autonomy in determining the functions and methods by which those purposes are carried out. As I will point out in my discussion, there is constant tension between the state and the university. Many within the state attempt to view the university as an agency and so seek to make it conform in its functions and methods to other state agencies. However, if the university is successfully to achieve the purposes established for it by the state, the University's operations must be based on its essential nature, and must have the autonomy of an agent. I will conclude with a general discussion of the relationship between the state and the university and examples of appropriate and inappropriate state direction and intervention.

The Nature of University

A review of some of the basic factors which establish the essence of the university will highlight its need for autonomy and self-direction if it is truly to achieve the purposes for which it was established.

The university may be thought of as two things: an association of scholars banded together to support their scholarship, and, second, an organization that serves purposes defined by the state. To understand the university as an association of scholars we must ask how scholars support themselves. Historically, there have been a limited number of ways. Scholars may marry well, inherit well, or they may make a living doing other kinds of work. Although these methods have supported a few individual scholars, they do not shed light on the existence of most scholars or on the nature of the university.

Two much more common ways scholars support themselves and their scholarship form the basis for the modern university. These are securing a patron to support the scholar or the sale of scholarly services. In one sense the university itself is a patron that purchases scholarly services from individual scholars. But in turn, the university as an organization of scholars has successfully secured the support of patrons. Ironically, patrons have both made scholarship possible and have always been a potential threat to the essential freedom that is the basis of scholarship.

Historically, patrons who have supported scholars and artists have stated in broad terms the purposes for their support. The states have served as patrons in the United States for the purposes of education and training. Initially, the states supported the formation of universities through the issuing of charters for colleges and universities. The original purposes were to educate clergy, lawyers and doctors. As society became more complex, additional purposes were added. In the mid-eighteen hundreds, the federal government encouraged the states to establish land-grant universities to support economic development by training farmers and mechanics. Later, the states created normal schools to provide training for teachers. In the 1900's the states created comprehensive universities and supported the creation of community colleges. In each case, the purpose of the state as patron was to provide trained manpower, essential to the well-being of the nation.

The second major way scholars have supported themselves is by the sale of scholarly services. Historically, the primary service has been either tutoring or teaching. The scholar has attracted a student or a group of students to whom he or she provided instruction. There are a number of other scholarly services which have been sold. A major one is research on specific topics. The Church supported scholarship on religious matter. The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore is, in one sense, a major federal research university. It receives more federal grants than any other university in the United States.The University of Maryland at Baltimore receives major support from the federal government for medical research. But as I will argue later, the sale of research functions does not underwrite the continuing core of the university.

Another form of support comes from, to use the American term, the sale of service. This is often an applied research in which the goal is to assist in the solution of a specific problem. Examples of this may included land use planning, testing of materials, or studying a public policy problem such as the improvement of schools. In these cases, the goal is to achieve a specific purpose determined by the sponsor or purchaser of research.

The sale of research does bring the danger of potentially distorting the purposes of the university toward the goal objectives of the buyers of research. It may also raise questions about the essential elements of the academic process, such as the ownership of information, which may impede the free flow of knowledge, characteristic of scholarly practice.

Historically, patrons have occasionally intervened or wished to intervene in the internal processes of the university. However, if universities are to achieve the purposes for which they were established, that intervention must be limited to the setting of broad purposes. In the United States, the sale of scholarly services in an open marketplace has been used to obtain financial support while attempting to limit the power or the ability of the federal government as patron to intrude. Federal financial support has normally been given through aid to students, funding of programs through program and research grants, and funding of facilities. In each of these cases, the support is indirect or temporary and does not underwrite the core activities of the university as a direct subsidy.

Higher education officials in the United States hoped that this indirect support would shield the university from federal intervention. In practice, this approach has largely succeeded. However, the federal government has used eligibility for student financial aid and program and research grants to obtain compliance with public policies ranging from affirmative action to dealing with hazardous waste.

So far I have discussed the university as a band of scholars who support themselves by attracting patrons and selling scholarly services. In doing so, they face the twin dangers that the patron will intervene inappropriately or that the sale of scholarly services will take on too much emphasis and distract from the essential business of the university.

What is the Basic Business of the University?

I think we must ask what our basic business is. If we can understand our fundamental activity, we can more clearly plan our relationships with other intellectual organizations.

In analyzing this problem, I have found it useful to ask what I refer to as the "railroad question". In the United States, after World War II, railroads defined their fundamental business as "railroading" rather than as transportation. Because of this limited view, railroad management did not take appropriate actions to compete with the development of new forms of transportation by air and truck. I believe that the basic business of a university is human development, specializing in facilitating the learning of alternative ways of handling information and knowledge, including its creation, validation, structure, organization, analysis, evaluation synthesis, storage, retrieval, communication and application. Human development is our business. We differ from other human development organizations by specializing in facilitating learning. We differ from other organizations facilitating learning because we emphasize alternative ways of handling information and knowledge.

The church is certainly involved in human development as are many other helping organizations. Many organizations are involved in human development through facilitating learning. Many are trade or technical institutions that teach a limited number of knowledge-based skills. But, there is no other organization in our society that is concerned with the range of alternative ways of handling knowledge that is characteristic of the university. In this view of the university, research and service are not the primary purposes of the university but rather necessary by-products.

Neither all scholars nor all universities concentrate equally on each of these scholarly tasks. The great research universities focus their energies primarily on the creation and validation of knowledge. Others such as Towson State will tend to concentrate on structuring, organizing, analyzing, storing, retrieving and communicating knowledge.

The true scholar has mastery of all of these tasks. But all scholars and universities do not equally concentrate on each of the scholarly tasks, even though all are necessary in an information-based society. I believe that it is useful in dealing with the state as patron to emphasis that all of these tasks are vital. There may be more prestige accorded to the creation of knowledge in a research university than to other scholarly tasks emphasized in other types of institutions. But unless all these tasks are performed at a high level of competence neither the university nor the society will be successful.

The Role of the Academic Discipline

At this point, I wish to turn my attention the academic discipline. The discipline is an international association of scholars that limits inappropriate intervention into the life of the university by both the state and the university as an institution. It may sound like a contradiction to say that the university as an institution would intervene inappropriately into its own life, but it is possible. The university as an institution may, in response to either external or internal forces, inappropriately attempt to limit the freedom of the scholar. The discipline rather than the state or the university guides and governs the day by day activities of the scholar. Because of this role, the discipline protects the scholar from undue intervention. In the United States, many scholars identify more strongly with the discipline than with the university as an institution.

I view the disciplines as technological cultures necessary to sustain scholarship. Technology is a way of doing something - the performance of scholarly tasks. We normally think of technology in terms of machinery and equipment. But, a social structure may also be a way of doing something. If one examines technology closely, it is possible to see that it is composed of hardware, software and a culture.

In discussing technologies in several addresses in the United States, I have used examples of technologies which were easily implemented. The value of this approach is that it simplifies the explanation of the interaction of the elements of a technology. A very simple example of a technology that was easily implemented is that of the yellow post-it note which is used to attach notes to letters, books, and articles. In this case, the hardware is a piece of paper, the software are the instructions to remove it from the pad, stick it to the piece of paper, and write on it. The cultural purpose is to write a note on another document. The hardware is cheap. The software is easily understandable and the cultural purpose is traditional. But all three elements are present.

If you will allow me to extend the concept of hardware to include books, journals and other documents, it is apparent that each one of our disciplines has some form of hardware. Each discipline has its software; topologies, definitions, methodologies, language, and communication systems. Each discipline has a distinctive culture that is a set of relationships to guide its behavior, determine the essential tasks to be done by the discipline, and a distinctive language for communication.

The discipline is a subset of the academic community that influences the purposes and functioning of a university. New discoveries are communicated through the discipline. Methods of validating those discoveries are carried on within the discipline. The disciplines are the organizational basis of the modern university.

My reason for stressing the role of the disciplines is that they are loosely structured organizations that are essential for the fundamental purposes of the university in handling knowledge. Yet they are not controlled by the university and cannot be controlled by the state. The disciplines are vital technological cultures that are both essential to the functioning of the university and resistant to external control, whether that control is rooted in the university or in the state.

Scholarship is primary an individual activity and responsibility. Even though the scholar may be working as part of a team, he or she is still responsible for the results of his or her scholarship. That scholarly responsibility is shaped by the discipline, rather than by either the university or the state.

The scholarly culture, embodied in the disciplines, is based on the belief that freedom of discovery in learning is the ultimate protection against fraud and abuse. Quality control of scholarship is performed by making public the results of scholarship for criticism and validation, not by bureaucratic regulation, or restriction on the freedom of information. In his book, On Liberty, John Stuart Mills said, "The real advantage truth has consists in this, that when an opinion is true, it may be extinguished once, twice, or many times, but in the course of ages there will generally be found persons to rediscover it, until some one of its reappearances falls on a time when from favorable circumstances it escapes persecution until it has made such head as to withstand all subsequent attempts to suppress it." I would now like to summarize this first section of my paper. Basically, a university is a band of scholars. These scholars are banded together to do things that they could not do individually. Two of the very important tasks that they can do much more effectively collectively than individually are to attract resources from a patron such as the state and to attract students. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of our combined ability to attract resources in today's knowledge environment. The materials for libraries and laboratories are beyond the range of the individual scholar. I have argued that the basic business of the university is human development specializing in facilitating the learning of ways of handling information and knowledge. But, this business is carried on by individuals. The quality of scholarship depends upon freedom of information and criticism. The disciplines help to structure this scholarly exchange.

The state serves as a patron because of the value of human development and the development of knowledge and information. The state does have a legitimate interest in the success of the university in accomplishing those purposes. However, the nature of the university is such that it must have autonomy in determining the means of accomplishing those purposes. Governor Kean from the State of New Jersey stated the case for autonomy well. He said, "both academics and statesmen have long recognized that one of the guarantors of freedom itself is the freedom of inquiry which the university must, by its very nature, espouse. It follows that the autonomy of the university, i.e., its ability to govern itself and to protect itself from external pressure and manipulation, is an essential condition of its very existence. In fact, the institutional support of academic freedom is so important that it can truly be said that the academic community cannot be free if the institution is not free." Many share these beliefs. Yet, despite these words and beliefs, this conference is dedicated to examining the continuing relationship between the university and the state.

I now wish to turn to the question of intervention by the state in the activity of the university and examine what intervention is appropriate and what is inappropriate. In an excellent book, Choosing Quality: Reducing Conflict Between the State and the University, Frank Newman said, "A carefully constructed relationship that balances both accountability and autonomy and that recognizes that the university is by its very nature profoundly different than other state agencies is required for the university to succeed." It is this relationship and its construction and maintenance that should be the focus of our attention.

The function of this relationship is to enhance the quality, efficiency, and responsiveness of the university to appropriate state needs. This relationship requires a clear articulation of the needs and purposes of the state. The setting of needs and purposes is an appropriate intervention and must be discussed fully by both parties. In return, the state must respect the essential nature of the academic process in meeting those needs and purposes and the university's need for autonomy to support the academic process.

There are three major factors that make a difference in the relationship between the university and state according to Dr. Newman. First is the aspiration to be great. Surprisingly, Dr.Newman found that in many states there did not seem to be an aspiration to have a great university system either on the part of the university or the state. There was a desire for competence, but not the willingness to undertake the effort and risks that create greatness. In the absence of this aspiration, the processes by which the institution functions and the routine of its operation can become the criteria by which the university is judged.

Sometimes I feel that it is the goal of the auditors from our legislature to have us run the university for a perfect audit, for those in charge of hazardous waste to have a perfectly safe environment, and for those in charge of student records to have perfect records. I do not mean to diminish the importance of quality in such activities, but they are not purposes for which the university exists. We could have the best financial management system of any institution in the country, but students would not come to the university for that purpose. It is only for greatness in academic pursuits that students seek out a university.

The second thing mentioned by Dr. Newman that influences the relationship between the university and the state is the tradition of understanding the nature of the university. Obviously, Governor Kean had an acute awareness of that tradition. Fortunately, this awareness is shared by most political leaders. However, there are also those who believe that the basic purposes of a university include providing patronage to friends or members of their parties, or opportunities for self-glorification. This is in part why I started with some obvious statements about the nature of the university. We cannot expect that the nature of the university will be automatically understood by all. We must rehearse the ways in which we can communicate the essential characteristics of the university and communicate them to political leaders.

As professionals, we have a special responsibility in the development and maintenance of that tradition. Professionals are privileged to be governed by professional ethics. Society gives professionals special powers and privileges so that they can carry out purposes set forth by society. For example, doctors are authorized to use limited violence against the body in their practice. How they use that violence is regulated by professional ethics. As scholars, we are granted unusual freedom of investigation and expression. In turn, we are responsible for using that freedom responsibly and with appropriate scholarly controls.

The third element that Dr. Newman mentions is leadership. That is the vision of those who lead both the state and the university and their willingness to sacrifice short-term gains for long-run developments. Universities are peculiar organizations. On one hand they are fragile and seem to be lacking in coherence. But, perhaps that lack of visible coherence which comes from the world we study is one of the reasons for the stability and durability of universities.

Indeed, our historic universities are among the social organizations which have lasted longest without significant structural change. It has allegedly been said about English universities that one cannot build a university without rolling the lawns for 200 years. Whether it takes lawn-rolling or not, it does take years and even decades to build a university. The state must understand that although the university will attempt to address short-term needs, that the university needs long-term support and tolerance if it is going to develop its potential.

There is little disagreement that the state is entitled to establish the purposes for the university. It is also entitled to establish some means of holding the university accountable for achieving those purposes. A recurring theme in the United States has been that of accountability. How can the university be judged accountable to its patrons and to its students? This historical theme has been a constant element of writings about state and higher education relationships. The purpose of focusing on accountability is that it provides a means of reducing the state's intervention in the day-by-day operations of the university and the academic enterprise. It is important that we work together to define accountability for the truly significant purposes for which the university is supported rather than for the bureaucratic operations that are a part of its day-by-day operation. It is much more important that the university be held accountable for the education of its students and the quality of its scholarship rather than for how it fills out forms and submits reports.

But, as in any relationship, there are times in which both parties are sometimes tempted to intrude in ways which are inappropriate to their status. Intrusion can take place to achieve ends which are inappropriate or to achieve appropriate ends through inappropriate means. Inappropriate intervention is that which distorts the essential nature of the academic process. In Sweazy vs. New Hampshire, decided in 1967, the United States Supreme Court ruled that there are four essential freedoms of a university: "to determine who may teach, to determine what may be taught, how it may be taught and who may be admitted to study." The court argued that "for society's good, political power must abstain from intrusion into this activity of freedom, except for reasons that are exigent and obviously compelling."

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching elaborated on this essential core. They wrote, "If the integrity of higher education is to be preserved, the academy must have full authority over those essential functions that relate to teaching and research. These include the selection of faculty, the content of courses, the processes of instruction, the establishment of academic standards and the assessment of performance. Academic integrity also requires that the university have control over the conduct of campus-based research and the dissemination of results. The functions constitute, we believe, the essential core of academic life. It is here that the integrity of the campus must be uncompromisingly defended." From "The Control of the Campus" (Washington, D.C., CFAT 1982 p. 6) In Newman, pp. 37-8.

There are different types of inappropriate interventions that may threaten this core. The first, and perhaps the most common and burdensome, is bureaucratic. In many states there is overregulation of university activities to make the university act as if it is another state agency. For example, in the United States, many universities are subject to the hiring and purchasing practices of the state. One outstanding example ofthe failure of such practices to meet the needs of a university was the rejection of a purchase of a kidney for a transplant operation because it had not been purchased through the state bidding process.

It is obvious that universities, as complex organizations,do need bureaucracies to function. Towson State University has most of the functions of a city-except for its own water and sewage treatment plant and its own fire department. Although many of our functions are similar to those in the state, the needs of an academic environment add subtle differences that are not easily met by standard bureaucratic functions.

In Maryland, higher education has recently been reorganized. Prior to the reorganization, Towson State was treated as a state agency subject to state procedures for purchasing and personnel actions. After the reorganization, we acquired the autonomy of the University of Maryland. Our purchasing and hiring of personnel were speeded up by months. Before, while we were subject to state personnel policies, the time-lag in complying with state procedures was so long that we saved the stipulated amount of (as we say) "turnover expectancy" each year. After reorganization, the efficiency of our hiring increased so much that we could no longer count on bureaucracy for these savings. We had to aggressively manage our vacancies to meet our budget goals.

A major focal point of discussion of government interventionin the United States has centered around the bureaucratic treatment of universities by the states. A major reaction to this bureaucracy is annoyance. But it has more serious consequences. The major negative effects of bureaucratic intrusion include the limiting of initiative. There is often the development of the attitude that "it can't be done" - "They won't let us do it." Another negative result is the loss of the sense of responsibility. People feel that, "The bureaucracy will take care of it." But perhaps the most serious consequence is the development of a culture that makes order more important than the risk and controversy that lie at the heart of scholarship.

A serious type of intrusion is ideological intrusion. Surprisingly in the United States, this is rarely done by the state. There is widespread respect for the essential nature of academic freedom and the exchange of views which must take place within the university. Of course, there is occasionally intervention by those who object to an art show as pornographic (currently a lively, current discussion in the United States) or a controversial speaker. But, embarrassingly, often faculty and students are responsible for intimidation and harassment of speaks. These actions attempt to place ideological limits on what can be discussed on the campus. Ironically, often the support of ideological freedom on the part of the state is important in preserving freedom of discussion on a campus.

A third type of intrusion is political intervention to enhance some politician's position. This may take the form of dictating the appointment or retention of a person for political reasons despite their qualifications or performance. It may also take the form of the construction of facilities for which a politician can claim credit. Political intrusion may also act to develop or retain a program for political reasons. This occurred in one New England state when an ethnic community brought strong pressure on an institution which was going to restrict the course offerings in their language because of light enrollment. They were careful not to interfere in the content of what was taught but were vigorous in advocating intervention in the programs offered by the university.

There are also appropriate interventions as the state modifies its needs and purposes. Some of these flow from social changes which have led to policies such as affirmative action, handicapped access, and the regulation of hazardous waste. They also spring from changing social and economic needs. For example, in the United States, there is serious concern about a potential teacher shortage and the quality of teachers in many states. There are increasing needs for those trained in computer science and engineering. There is increased need for students in the areas of science and technology. There is need for increased activity on the part of the university in facilitating technology transfer and support of business and industry.

These needs are important and lead in many cases to appropriate intervention. That is, the state is refining its needs as a part of its contract with the university. This intervention becomes difficult if the needs intrude in the content of programs, resulting in coercion which is antithetical to the spirit of the university. This is rare. Often intrusion by the state takes the form of adding additional resources to enable the university to undertake desired activities.

A final form of intervention is due to tension about institutional mission. The power of the model of the research university and its place in the prestige hierarchy in higher education may lead faculties in other types of institutions to attempt to emulate that model even though that conflicts with the purpose of the patron in establishing the institution. There is a desperate need for other institutional models such as the comprehensive university in the United States. Such institutions emphasize scholarly tasks that are not attended to with the same intensity in the research university.

Now I return to the to the starting point. The appropriate area for intervention by the state is in establishing clarity of purposes and in working with the university to establish an understanding of their relationship. This relationship will further the legitimate interests of the state in supporting the university while maintaining the academic culture which is essential to the success of the university in service to the state.

Robert H. Atwell

The professional representation of universities, lobbying and professional associations

The topic assigned to me is the role which professional associations play in the American higher education scene. In order to understand the role of these associations, one must first understand some characteristics of the American higher education nonsystem which distinguish it from most other nations in the world:

1. We have the highest rates of participation in higher education, ranging from about 50 percent among traditional age students (which we would count as roughly ages 17 to 23) to 60 percent over a lifetime. It is not entirely fair to compare this participation rate to that in European nations, because we count every student, whether or not he or she enrolls for purposes of pursuing a degree.

I should say that the other side of high participation is high attrition or low retention to graduation. Less than 50 percent of our students finish within even five years, and the nontraditional age and part-time student is now the majority. The average age of students in community colleges is close to 30, and many of these students have completed two or more years in an institutons or even have graduated from a four-year institution. Continuting education over a life span seems to be an increasing characteristic of the U.S.

2. The term higher education in the U.S. includes a range of institutional types, public and private, from two-year community colleges to national research universities, with regional state universities and small liberal arts colleges in between. We have about 3,400 nonprofit public and private colleges and universities that enroll about 12 million students. Half the institutions are private but 80 percent of the students go to public institutions. Thus, the private sector is characterized by small institutions with 85 percent of the colleges which enroll under 1,000 students being private. The 80/20 public-private split greatly masks the real role of the private sector. Private institutions enroll one-third of the graduate students, award 60 percent of all first professional degrees and 36 percent of the PhDs. Of the 104 major research universities, 33 are private.

We also have about 3,000 proprietary institutions operated for profit, which provide specific short-term job training to at least another 2 million students.

3. Our institutions are financed from a multiplicity of sources, including federal and state governments, student fees, and private and corporate philanthropy. This multiplicity of funding sources and the lack of reliance on a single funding source is the key to the historic autonomy of our institutions. The states supply 30 percent of the funds, the federal government about 20 percent, gifts and investment income supply about 10 percent (15 percent in the private sector) and student fees and sales and services provide the remainder.

Both public and private institutions receive public funds with the public institutions relying principally on the states and the private institutions relying principally on the federal government. It is not so much finance which distinguishes public from private institutions, but governance. The governing boards of public institutions are politically appointed or elected and the governing boards of private institutions are self-perpetuating.

4. The federal government has a more limited role in higher education than is true in Europe, accounting for only about 20 percent of the income. However, the federal role is predominant in student financial aid, where it accounts for 75 percent of total funds, and about an equal proportion in support of basic research. Financial aid is quite important in our system because, unlike Europe which is characterized by no or very low fees, even our public institutions (for the most part) charge fees which are offset by aid in the case of needy students. This "high fee-high aid" philosophy is particularly applicable to the private sector which charges about $5,000 more on the average than do public institutions.

Though the federal government funds between two-thirds and three-fourths of the basic research conducted at colleges and universities, it does so through many federal agencies and the Department of Education is not among the six major providers.

5. We created a federal Department of Education only ten years ago and it is still and by consensus will remain quite weak both in terms of the power it exerts over institutions and in analytic capacity. The federal government has no responsibility for the overall fiscal health or the infrastructure of institutions with the exception of the historically black colleges and universities and it has no formal role in the curriculum or other academic matters. Its major responsibilities in higher education are limited to collecting statistics and administering the student financial aid programs and a variety of other relatively small categorical programs.

Voluntary accreditation by organizations governed and staffed by higher education administrators and faculty members plays an oversight role in American higher education comparable to ministries of education in Europe.

6. The 50 states have the primary responsibility for public four-year institutions and the states and localities share responsibility for the 1200 public community, junior, and technical colleges. Though we now see a trend toward more state control—something most of us in higher education regret—historically the states have exercised their responsibility in a manner that has afforded considerable autonomy to public colleges and universities. Centralization in the public sector has taken the form of putting most of the individual public institutions within systems of several campuses under a single board. Two-thirds of the four-year public university students and an even higher proportion of the institutions are now part of systems, something not welcomed by most of us in higher education.

7. The lay institutional governing board is a unique feature of the American higher education system. Such boards are usually self-perpetuating in the private sector and in the public sector are either elected or appointed. Another unhappy trend is the increasing politicization of governing boards in the public sector, both those which are appointed as well as those which are elected.

8. The chief executive officer, called either chancellor or president plays a more potent role in the life of the institution than is the case in most of Europe. While the faculties play an important role in the governance of virtually all of the more prestigious institutions and in many others, CEOs have important managerial, fund-raising, and academic leadership roles. Few return to the classroom; most see administration as a long-term commitment

This is true even in the face of the declining job expectancy (now about five years in the four-year public sector and longer in the private sector). There is a growing tendency for presidents to move from one such position to another.

9. Undergraduate education in the arts and sciences is less specialized than in Europe; there is considerable effort to ensure breadth as well as depth. (Of course, the European baccalaureate, which is roughly the equivalent of our first two years of colleges, does include a liberal arts component).

10. Vocational training or highly specialized baccalaureate education is increasingly important, particularly but not exclusively in the community colleges (which do not offer the baccalaureate). This is partly a reflection of the growing proportion of older and part-time students, a phenomenon which must also be a listed as an important distinguishing characteristic of the American system.

11. While most of our students now are either commuters or live at home or in their own rental housing in the community, the residential campus continues to play a more important role here than is true of most of Europe. In such institutions extracurricular life is rich and varied and is arranged by and through the institution.

12. Several hundred American colleges and universities are expected to entertain the public in the form of major football, basketball, and other intercollegiate athletic spectacles and the major identification which much of the public has with these institutions is with their their athletic teams.

Working our way from distinctions in our higher education systems, there are some important differences in our political systems which are important to the way in which professional associations work. These are:

a. You have parliamentary systems in which, by definition, the executive branch of government either has the votes to pass its program or it falls. This greatly enhances the role of ministries of education. By contrast, ours is a separation of powers system consisting of three co-equal branches. Coupled with the limited role of the federal government in education, this means a much weaker Department of Education and a much stronger role for the legislative branch.

b. Since Lyndon Baines Johnson left office in 1968, the Congress has dominated higher education policy. Through all of that period, the House has been Democratic and so has the Senate except for several Reagan years and in 18 of the 22 years, the President has been Republican and not very interested in education. Congressional domination of the education agenda has permitted the development of "the iron triangle" consisting of friendly legislators and their staffs, friendly career civil servants in the Department of Education and Dupont Circle lobbyists. Congress is not a unified body, which makes it easier for the lobbyists than would be the case with a more monolithic structure.

c. The states which provide 30 percent of higher education spending, versus 20 percent by the federal government, vary enormously in carrying out their responsibilities for higher education. Some afford considerable autonomy, such as California, New York and others are characterized by bureaucratic micromanagement. While some states are comparatively affluent and others relatively impoverished, some states with high capacity provide little support for higher education and others with seemingly low capacity, are quite generous. As a general rule, the states in the urban northeast—New England and the Middle Atlantic states, the heartland of the original 13 colonies are states with a strong private sector and they have generally not been as attentive to public higher education as have the Midwestern and Western States which do not have the heritage of strong private sectors.

Since at least the 1860s the states have had public universities for which they were primarily responsible. On the other hand, K-12 has historically been the responsibility of 16,000 local school districts which supported their schools through the local property tax. Because of wide disparities in the tax base, affluent areas inevitably spent much more money and got much better schools. In recent years, there has been a shift from local to state funding, though the local school districts are still remarkably autonomous. The significance of all this for higher education is that the states are now paying more attention to K-12 and less to higher education.

There is a broad consensus in the nation that our elementary and secondary system is in trouble—and an erroneous perception that higher education is fat and sassy—and so we have considerable attention to education by the states and particularly by a few "education governors." All of this means that higher education, while still enjoying respect and broad support, no longer occupies the favored position it once did.

President Hoke Smith and others are now trying to argue not only that higher education is not as affluent as some would have us believe, but that it is essential that not pit the "big kids against the little kids," that it is all one system, and that a strong higher education system is essential to the restructuring of K-12.

I now turn to the subject of the professional associations. By definition, a professional association in the American rubric is not a governmental body, though it may in some instances receive government funds, usually for rather narrowly defined and specific projects. Professional associations are voluntary nonprofit agencies which are able to define the requirements for admission, which charge dues to their members, and which are governed by boards elected by the membership, usually on recommendation of a nominating committee.

In the field of higher education there are hundreds of these associations. The membership of the American Council on Education includes over 250 associations and we do not by any means include all of them. They are of several different types:

- Those representing college and university presidents, of which there are least a dozen. Six associations represent the smallest number of associations which represent the entire universe of accredited two- and four-year, public and private colleges and universities. The Six include: the Association of American Universities with about 55 members, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities with over 375 members, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges with about 1,250 members, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges with about 150 members, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities with about 850 members, and my own organization, the American Council on Education with over 1500 institutional members and over 250 association members. Other presidential associations include: the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education with 117 historically and predominantly black institutions, the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of Urban Universities, and the National Association of Schools and Colleges of the United Methodist Church. Many institutions belong to several of these associations so overlapping membership is an important characteristic.

- Those representing governing boards including the Association of Governing Boards of Colleges and Universities and the Association of Community College Trustees.

- Those representing campus administrative units such as the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, the National Association of College and University Business Officers, the Association of American Law Schools, the Association of American Medical Colleges, the College and University Personnel Association, the National Association of Student Financial Aid Officers, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, the National University Continuing Education Association, the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, the Council of Graduate Schools, and the Association of Physical Plant Administrators.

- Those representing the faculty, principally are the American Association of University Professors, and the American Federation of Teachers.

- Those which are individual—as distinct from institutional—membership proganizations such as the American Association for Higher Education or the American Association of University Administrators.

- Testing agencies and those which deal with the transition from high school to college, including American College Testing, Educational Testing Service, the College Entrance Examination Board, and the National Association of College Admissions Counselors.

o There are literally hundreds of disciplinary associations.

Some associations are "full service banks" meaning that they provide their members with policy analysis, professional development and training, publications, public policy advocacy, and a variety of other services. Others are strictly concerned with public policy advocacy and still others such as most disciplinary associations exist largely to run a publications program and put on an annual meeting. (There is hardly a day goes by when there is not a higher education association meeting somewhere in the nation).

Most but not all of these associations are located in the Washington D.C. area. Probably the single most powerful higher education association, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, is located in Kansas City. About 35 of these associations are located in Number One Dupont Circle, in a building known as the National Center for Higher Education. The building was purchased and is operated by the American Council on Education, which itself occupies more than two floors of this eight story building and which rents the rest of the space to other higher education associations on the basis of a carefully-developed priority scheme.

I now turn to the question of how these organizations work together or separately on behalf of public policy issues. The first thing to be understood is that the situation I have been describing and will be describing pertains principally to national associations working on public policy issues principally at the federal level. There are a myriad of other associations working on public policy issues within particular states.

It is an axiom of American politics that you never make deals if you think you can win. By that we mean that each person or each group, being free to pursue its own agenda will unilaterally do so until it becomes persuaded either that it needs help or needs to make a compromise with competing interest groups. In higher education at the national level, I try to promote the mutual vetoes theory which simply means that we accept the proposition that no one sector can prevail if others oppose it. The acceptance of that principle provides a basis for negotiation and compromise. When that proposition is not accepted, everyone goes his or her separate way and tries to prevail, and blames others when he or she does not ultimately prevail.

We have extensive mechanisms for trying to resolve our differences within One Dupont Circle. The CEOs of the six major presidential associations meet at least every two weeks, and their lobbyists (formally known as government relations staff) meet much more often. We make an earnest effort not to surprise each other and to talk first and shoot second. Because the associations are answerable to constituencies that support them and appoint the chief executive officers, there is considerable involvement of the governing boards of the associations. It is the case that the elected officials are generally more willing to compromise than the association executives who need to justify their association to their constituencies by showing that they are aggressively pursuing the interests of their particular sector. If you read the newsletters of the various associations concerned with public policy, you would believe that everything good that happened did so because of the efforts of that association when in reality that is seldom the case.

I should perhaps say that there are only about 20 associations which even pretend to engage in public policy advocacy and only about half of that number do it with any consistency and with full-time staff.

It is the task of the American Council on Education to bring together those associations which engage in public policy advocacy to try to iron out differences and allow us to speak with a single voice.

At the federal level, three main topics absorb the professional associations concerned with public policy. First is student financial aid where the federal government plays the overwhelming role in dollar terms. Here the issues concern the extent to which federal policy favors one sector or another, historically the publics versus the privates and now the colleges and universities vis-a-vis the 3,000 institutions engaged in short-term, for-profit vocational training. Students in these institutions as well as college and university students are eligible for federal student aid and, in some cases, for state aid.

The second subject is federal support of research and here there are several issues:

- the extent to which federal R&D dollars go for applied military research versus basic research.
- the extent to which national priorities such as AIDS or cancer research squeeze out the ongoing basic research.
- the extent to which federal dollars go to the major national research universities—which is overwhelmingly the case—as opposed to the aspiring institutions or even the small predominantly teaching institutions. These issues surface around science facilities and even around the extent to which the scientific merit review schemes are incestuous old boy networks which squeeze out both young investigators in research universities and most investigators in less well-known institutions.
- the extent to which federal government supports the total cost of research, both the direct costs, and the infrastructure costs.

The third major subject is that of taxes. Most American colleges and universities, particularly but not exclusively the private institutions, are engaged in a never-ending search for private funds from their alumni and friends, from corporations, and from foundations. Historically, the federal tax code has provided incentives for such giving by allowing deductions from taxable incomes. In recent years, with the need to increase federal revenue without increasing the rates, these deductions have been under pressure and some have been eliminated or compromised. Our role at the moment is both to prevent further erosion or damage and to restore some of the losses in the 1986 tax reform act.

I would now like to offer some concluding observations about the role of professional associations in the American higher education scene. It is a mixed picture with some pluses and some minuses.

We brag about our diversity but the other side of that is a kind of balkanization. The institutions themselves are balkanized into high-walled departments and a plethora of student subcultures. But if there is an absence of community on the campus, the problem is compounded by institutional diversity and competition. Somehow, it is my judgment that this competition is particularly stressful because, despite our diversity, we have only one model of excellence, known as a major national research university. There are less than 100 of these out of the 3,400 colleges and universities--and we do not need any more but, largely because most of the faculty obtained their PhDs at these less than 100 institutions, they all too often try to move what should be teaching institutions into research university status. To be mobile requires a quantitatively heavy publications record and that can only be obtained through reduced teaching loads. At least some of the jockeying which goes on by associations and by individual institutions pitted against each other has to do with this inappropriate single model of excellence.

The existence of strong professional associations contributes to the balkanization as institutions try to push their way into the single model rather than forging new models.

My second point is that in the absence of a ministry of education, professional associations have filled a void. The Congress is admirably suited to address the political tradeoffs necessary to keep peace within higher education but only occasionally to exert visionary leadership. The congress and the associations have filled a void over the last 25 years during which there has been virtually no executive branch leadership in higher education. At the same time, even as a spokesman for a major association, I would acknowledge that there really is no substitute for visionary and passionate executive branch leadership. We would have trouble accepting it after 25 years without it but the cold shower might be good for all of us.

A third observation is that the professional associations representing "management" or the administrators of colleges and universities are stronger than those representing faculty--which is, of course, quite the opposite of our situation in K-12 where the two unions representing school teachers are far more potent and well-financed than those representing school administrators or school governing boards. And the students, which have been so politically important in Eastern Europe in recent months, have seldom been a major force on behalf of the American higher education enterprise. As a consequence, one could argue that the 12 million students or consumers are not as well served as are the 600,000 faculty and 1 million administrators and support staff.

My final observation is that professional associations function best either when there is a common adversary, as was the case during the Reagan years, or when the prospects are good for expansion on all fronts. Professional associations are not nearly as effective in developing priorities for an age of limits or when there is a need for broad-scale perestroika as is now the case, I would argue, in student financial aid.

Robert L. Caret

Political Intervention of Higher Education: Comparisons by International Leaders

Contracting versus Autonomy: Partnerships: Universities with Business and Universities with Government"

A University aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying pure principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspirations, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life."[1]

All of our institutions were formed as a result of societal needs.It is our role to provide the educated leaders, researchers,teachers, and managers of our societies. And, as the needs in the various sectors of society have changed, our institutions have continued to evolve to address these needs. It is also our role to assure that we play an active role with our governments and - with our business neighbors in setting our societal agendas - our goals for the future.

All nations embrace the belief that education is a necessary and vital component of a healthy economy. Elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education are all partners in this endeavor. But, it is "the higher education system that sets the tone for...education and determines the aspirations of students at all levels"[2] .

The higher education systems of their countries can only achieve their desired future by forming true partnerships with their communities; by becoming part of those communities, informing them of their needs, continually clarifying their role, sharing their dreams, and extending our hand in cooperation.

There are numerous and varied models of partnerships which exist among the various institutions of higher education. These models fall within several broad categories:

- education,
- pure and applied research,
- human capital development,
- technical assistance,

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[1] Cardinal Newman, The Idea of the University, Image Books, 1959.

[2] Involvement in Learning, the National Institutes of Education, 1984.

- capacity building / potential development and,
- business development.

These models take the form of traditional undergraduate and graduate education, continuing education, joint research projects and grants, and so forth. In addition, they manifest themselves in more innovative ways, such as through incubator centers, industrial parks, venture capital partnerships, and shared professorships. All of these models are important and should be part of the continued planning for the institution and the region in which it resides.

Though economic development is and will remain a major focus of our partnerships with business and government, economic development is only one outcome of these interactions; there are many others. Our institutions, simply by their presence, provide many explicit and implicit catalysts to aid in the economic well-being of the region. From the graduates who go on to teach in public and private school systems, to the cultural enrichment provided through fine arts programs, through the recreational activities provided by facilities and sports programs, and through the plethora of other similar outcomes of university life, universities are playing major roles in assuring the economic well-being and quality of life of their regions and of their nations. Their presence results in a general enrichment of society as a whole.

All of our institutions should be recognizing the import that these partnerships among us can play in our continued growth and development. What remains to be done is to provide support to these efforts and a concomitant commitment to provide the resources and nurturing that creative efforts of this type always require.

Our countries are experiencing major shifts in the needs of their communities. We are now becoming part of the "global village," an unknown concept a decade ago. We are also partners in new developing "metro-cities" - the "urban villages" of the latter part of the 20th and the early part of the 21st centuries. We are in the age of "new technologies" and our institutions play an important role as we shift from a "smokestack / heavy manufacturing"economy to a "service-based" economy. In this emerging environment, the role of higher education is of ever-increasing importance and our institutions and the regions in which they reside must be poised to take advantage of the resources higher education provides by maximizing these to the potential they reflect.[3] Perhaps the most important result of these partnership efforts is or will be the development and continuation of appropriate forums at which all of us, as community members (higher education, business, and government) can continue an on-going dialogue, an exchange of knowledge and ideas, an exchange that is vital to our combined future.

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[3] Paraphrased from the report, "A Joining of Hands;Cooperation for the Common Good", Executive Focus

All institutions have a mission, a distinct and unique charge, that enables them to appropriately establish goals and objectives. The mission guides all institutional planning, resource allocation, program development, and faculty and institutional emphasis in teaching and research. The mission, in sum, guides the evolvement of the institution and hence its success or failure in meeting the needs of the communities it serves. If the mission is mismatched to the institution, the needs of its communities, or the desires and needs of its faculty, the institution will fail to achieve the goals it has set for itself - the enterprise will fail. The mission and resulting taxonomy of the institution are critical because they establish what an institution is and what its directions will be in terms of curriculum, clientele, and societal involvement.[4] Clearly, the partnerships we can successfully form with our local communities, are also dependent on our missions and hence our institutional typologies. Research institutions are different than comprehensive colleges and universities or liberal arts colleges; two-year colleges are different than four-year colleges and universities; and, public institutions often offer a different ambiance and mission than do their private counterparts. However, all institutions, have a role to play and must be filling their "niche" in society's foundation.

Towson State University is a large, urban, comprehensive university (a "Metropolitan University") serving the Baltimore, Maryland (USA) region. Towson enrolls about 15,000 students (13,000 undergraduate and 2,000 graduate), has approximately 550 full-time tenure track faculty and an additional 400 part-time faculty on its staff, and offers a broad spectrum of programs at the undergraduate and graduate (masters) levels. Towson is 123 years old, having developed from a State Normal School, through a State Teacher's College, to a State College, and finally to a State University in 1976. Towson serves one of the largest metropolitan regions in the United States and has actively committed itself to developing partnerships with its community neighbors in business and government. Several of those partnerships are described in the paragraphs which follow:

Center for Suburban and regional Studies

The Center was founded in 1988 to study local and area issues and assist government agencies, non-profit organizations and private corporations. The Center has four distinct missions focused on education, research, consultation, and publication. The Center serves as a clearinghouse of information, a forum for discussion, an instrument for examining issues, and a means of publishing and publicizing research. Specific areas of interest to the Center include regional planning, economic development, conservation and natural resources, geographic and demographic information, youth and the elderly, the handicapped

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Group on HigherEducation, Baltimore County, Maryland, Fall 1989.

[4] Paraphrased from, R.L. Caret, "Comprehensive Colleges andUniversities Role in Science and Technology Education," AASCU Press, to be published, 1990.

and minorities, health care and social services, transportation, education, and other policy issues. The Center uses a multidisciplinary approach in solving the tasks put before it, focusing primarily on regional issues but expanding, where appropriate, to issues with national and even international implications.

Center for Area Resource Development (CARD):

The Center for Area Resource Development is the outreach arm of the School of Business and Economics. The Center provides custom-designed seminars, expert consulting, marketing research,and economic analysis and forecasting. Its economic forecasting model is published on a quarterly basis in the Baltimore Business Journal which is distributed throughout the central Maryland region. CARD is the vehicle that allows the School of Business and Economics to achieve its goal of developing stronger and stronger working relationships between Towson State University and the Greater Baltimore Business Community. This Center's areas of interest include: advertising, capital budgeting, computersystems / applications, economic growth and development as well as forecasting, financial analysis / planning, human resource management, management information systems, marketing research / planning, operations research, organizational development, urban economics, and others.

Center for Study of Adult Development and Aging

The Center has been established to undertake research in human development during middle life and old age. The Center also exists to train students and to provide services related to healthy adult development and optimum aging. To reach these goals the Center also is a source of resources and a place for dialogue and shared projects of faculty, students, and the community. The main focus of the Center is on positive development and everyday, natural settings, done from a multidisciplinary systems theory perspective. The Center is located in the Psychology Department of Towson State University. The Center takes on diverse activities to reach its research, training, and service goals. It publishes a monograph series and hosts meetings focused on issues of interest. The Center serves as a home for projects, as a source of expertise for research support, as a source of mentors, and as a place where colleagues interested in mid-life and aging can network, plan grant proposals, or share ideas.

College of Natural and Mathematical Sciences Industrial Academic Partnership Board:

The Board is the academic outreach arm of the College to industry. It is designed to: promote coordination of industrial research consulting activities, improve communication between the College and the industrial community, make industry cognizant of the College's resources for scientific and technical research, and make available specialized equipment. Participation in the program offers industry the opportunity to obtain economical solutions to scientific and technical problems, expertise or equipment that may not be available within the industry's permanent resources, and a much broader pure-research base to augment the more applied base within many of the companies served. In addition, the Institution gains by providing outreach opportunities for its faculty and by gaining expertise from the industrial sector that can be used in both research and programmatic efforts within the College.

College of Allied Health Science's Wellness Institue:

The Institute is a multidisciplinary, university wide effort whose primary goal is to decrease the staggering costs of health care and reduce the suffering associated with preventable disease for all citizens in the state of Maryland, but especially in the heavily populated central Maryland area. The Institute was created to address potential health problems before they become difficult and expensive to treat. The Institute's primary focus is on individuals whose lifestyles make them susceptible to health problems: heart disease, hypertension, hyperlipidemia, or cancer in their early stages. The Wellness Institute provides services to meet a wide range of needs. These include lifestyle assessment that examines personal health factors such as nutrition, psychological stress, fitness habits and substance use and abuse. A fitness assessment package measures body composition and determines levels of strength, muscular endurance, cardiovascular fitness, and flexibility. Exercise stress tests, blood tests, and speech-language-hearing tests provide a comprehensive look at one's total level of well being. Individuals can come to the Institute or the Institute soon will be able to come to them. A Mobile Wellness Center, a state-of-the-art health assessment facility on wheels, is planned for the future.

In Maryland alone, the annual cost of treating cardio-vascular disease exceeds $230 million. Cancer treatment costs more than $53 million per year and hypertension $142 million. A yearly price tag $175 million is attached to diseases related to poor dietary and exercise habits. Clearly, a comprehensive approach to "wellness"is needed by society as a whole. The Wellness Institute is Towson State University's response to that need.

Baltimore County Executive Advisory Board on Higher Education:

The Executive Advisory Board on Higher Education is an outgrowth of a task force established by the County Executive in Baltimore County, Maryland to review how business, higher education, and industry could interact in a more synergistic and complementary manner to the benefit of all communities. The primary recommendation of that task force was the establishment of an ongoing forum for dialogue and communication - the Executive Advisory Board. Towson State University's Provost serves as the first Chair of the Advisory Board and the staff for the Advisory Board is housed on the Towson State University campus. The Executive Advisory Board is charged to continue the efforts initiated by the Higher Education Task Force and has the primary responsibility to continue to link the County and business with higher education in the years ahead. The Executive Advisory Board is composed of key leaders from higher education, government, and business and has initiatives focused in several key areas including: undergraduate and graduate education, continuing education, joint research projects and grants, and a plethora of other initiatives that are established and prioritized on an ongoing basis by the Advisory Board. The Advisory Board provides a comprehensive thrust to the county's and region's needs and coordinates its efforts with other organizations and groups within the region. The primary goals of the Advisory Board are to: improve the quality of life; enhance economic development; and enhance education at the K-12 level; improve the operation of County government; broaden multi-national education efforts; and, to improve the sharing of information, resources, and skills.

There is much to be gained by these new "partnerships." We are forging new linkages for the future and providing paths for our organizations to continue to evolve. We are working with each other to maximize our resources and to maximize the potential for success at what we do. We are guaranteeing a more timely workforce and a faculty that is more in tune with the needs of society. We are rightfully demanding that we be partners in the development of policy for our communities and are willing to put forward the effort and energy necessary to that partnership - we are helping our society solve its problems and develop its future and dreams.

If these partnerships are to be successful we must focus on several key elements:

- be realistic, choose partnerships that are appropriate to the mission and role of the institution - partnerships that can be embraced by the faculty;

- focus on objectives and design partnerships and goals that meet institutional needs as well as solve societal problems or answer societal questions; if we do not focus ourselves, our energies will be diffused by the multitude of demands being placed upon us and no one will gain;

- establish a strong supportive foundation early among the faculty and the administration at the institutions; an appropriate dialogue and consensus building are key elements to successful partnership efforts;

- our efforts must be timely, serving needs today, or needs we perceive will exist in the future;

- allocate sufficient resources to the efforts. All too many efforts fail for lack of appropriate "seed money and resources" to assure their success;

- provide appropriate leadership to the outreach effort - it is individuals that assure the success of our endeavors; an entrepreneur or "champion" is the vital component to the successful outreach effort. All sectors of a well-balanced higher education community share common goals even though we are all asked to assume different roles and have been given different missions. We must all approach in our own ways the goals that have been set. Our differences are our strengths. We must continue to provide the entire establishment the nourishment and help it deserves and needs - a large part of this nourishment can come from the partnerships that I have promulgated in the previous pages.

Partnerships provide an obvious and important "bridge" between our institutions and our society. As society turns more and more towards higher education as an underutilized resource, it is important that we be able to respond in a timely fashion. Partnerships provide us with the vehicle to respond.

Michael Daxner

Scientific Expertise

or

How Universities Attain Public Authority

1.

What would happen, if an international convention should declare that universities are superfluous? Let us assume that the justification for this convention would be as follows:

- research can be done more efficiently and less costly by industrial R&D-labs and, for basic research, governmental-oriented think-tanks
- middle and high-key training should be performed in a variety of professional schools that could be attached to professional organisations and/or to prospective future employers
- the documentary and archivistic potentials of universities should be concentrated in comprehensive resource-centers of very high capacity.

And so on: we know these type of arguments, and we know that, so far, universities have been able to resist the challenges of that kind of technolocratic visions. I do not mean to go into this unrealistic scenario, but I want to ask why it is so unrealistic.

The first answer would be that our societies really want higher education and universities as they are. That would be nice for our self-esteem and self-assertation. But such an answer will be deconstructed quite rapidly by the claims for more public accountability, more efficiency in training, cheaper processing of research into development, less ideological constraints to public or particular demands, etc. The modified first answer could be that our systems should be maintained but with substantial changes from which everybody thinks, that they will not alter the system entirely. It is likely that universities are not considered basically all right, but are judged according rather particular interest-lines, i.e. critically.

The second answer would be that only universities, with no regard of their national historical background, could not be replaced by a variety of instrumental and specialized institutios. The easy argument for this is that universities with their comprehensive approach to and administration of konwledge provide the optimal production and processing of knowledge, whereas each of the specialized alternatives can only serve by providing maximal output in contingent, narrow fields. The complex argument for the irreplaceble university comes, paradoxically enough, from the expectations and projektions that make the first answer so weak.

2.

The urgent claims for reforms are not new. Accountability was asked for at the dawn of every reform of a national system, more efficiency and streamlined procedures were asked for, when budget cuts were pending or to be avoidet, and the battle for easier access of business to public intellectual resources has become a continuous function for economic development. But one thing has changed: in the course of internationalization there occurs a multi-national alignment of higher education policies, with a respective parallellization of demands (cf. WASSER 1990). This puts an increasing pressure on universities to legitimate their demands for more autonomy, broader range of activities, better funding - and more authority to interfere with key questions of societal development, and to participate in legitimate interventions for to answer these questions.

This is my point: whereas most of the curricular and social questions of staff development, student performance, research organization, and social life in academia, can be answered by the diverse - traditionally very complex - models of the academic discourse, the claim for a new type of authority calls for the entire institution.

3.

The extravagant liberties and academic freedom are justified by four different foundations:

a) the special quality of scientific knowledge that does not allow limitations of handling, should it not be deterorated or abused;

b) the condition for critical judgement on all objects that can be perceived by science;

c) the necessity of teaching (and training) free from pressure by the state and particular groups of interests, or by religious or ideological dogms;

d) the model for any mutual transfer between theory and practice, distinguished by the superiority of knowledge apart from its being abused by domination or exclusion.

Of course, this is all an idealized shortening of the problem, but each single foundation can be regarded as an indicator when liberties are denied, or freedom is endangered.

Nobody would accuse universities seriously that they represent the classical ivory tower any more; nor would the most factual industrialist demand a pracitcal surrender of academia to the aimes of a particular business. But we face a doublefold challenge that must be dealt with before universities lose too many fields of influence.

Challenge no. 1.: If universities accept their role to serve the community beside teaching and research, and I think they should accept this role, they must define the kind of authority they need to fulfill this role, and they must attain it. If they fail to do so, they run the risk of beeing degraded to main-stream instruments and tools for pre-defined problem-solving;

Challenge no. 2.: There are problems of survival and human existence that go beyond the traditional patterns of higher education. The expertise that is needet to transprot these issues and to make them perceptible as scientific ones must be developed as a part of academic culture in a civil society. This implies the authority of academia to interfere without special request, only by consensual mission; and that implies the authority to influence political decisions at certain points, which requires a new a special kind of authority.

4.

The authority of universities can be described as resultant from the individual capacity of scholars and the institutional reputation. The second is not only a function of the first, but there are many relations between both. Authoritative expertise flows into research-based development, into the perception of qualified training of graduates, not least into the habits and attitudes of people in and from college. The order of acknowledgment and the ranking between institutions followed rules that were built by the diverse scientific and disciplinary communities and the stable pattern of self-reference in the academic discourse. If the were doubted too heavily from external powers - efficiency, accountability, criticism, malpractice and other topics can be named as slogans - a process of readjustment brought back a general consensus about the values of universities and their distinctions facing competing institutions with scholarly or scientific core. With some modifications, this will be a valid pattern for the nearer future. But there is no established pattern for how universities can gain in authority on behalf of their explicit public service functions. I define these functions as a "demand-approach". the university is asked for a service that is probably needing scientific expertise, and not the recognized expert. Or the university acquires a task, for which it is organizing its manpower only after the political or scientific definition of the problem.

The thought is not alltogether new, but the difference in procedures and structures is quite obvious. The person-oriented authority and reputation is at once a tool for beeing chosen as an expert and a way of transferring individual and individualized responsibility. The university is more ore less the home base for the individual scholar and may gain in reputation and recognition as a secondary effect. But with the university as a public authority, it is the corporative representation of science and knowledge that is being asked for and taken into accountability; when Robert CARET is, at this meeting, describing several ways of universities interactingwith the public, it is quite clear that he approaches this new understanding as well, because it is only the institution that can define a task transgressing the horizon of the individual discipline or scholar. This is not only a matter of more "inter-disciplinarity", but implies a political option. Difficulties arise when the problems can no longer be solved within the established patterns of negociated normal science. Universities must gain back the power of dealing with such problems as are transferred more and more to extramural or private institutions, academies, think-tanks etc. The active type of public service by scientific expertise means that a problem may be imposed to the public and handled by the universitiy because it is the most credible institution and it wants to be made accountable for results that no other institution can provide with the same credibility. This is a position clearly opposed to any tendency of separating academic scholarship from practice. It means that everything that can be done by a university should be offered to be done first to this institution. This power of acquisition can legitimated by the following reasons:

(a) The university can go into fields that have not yet established "markets" for the transfer of research into development and practice. (Public funktion 1)

(b) The university can combine expertise from different fields more easily than any other institution because of its internal conventions and its usage of academic freedom and institution-based liberties. (Academic quality)

(c) The university is better able than other research places to redefine the given tasks. The dependency of research institutions and non public R&D Business on the takeover of pre-defined problems is at once their limitation and their restraint of intellectual credibility. (Public function 2)

(d) The immediate transferability of public service into teaching and training at the same institution is a good base for simultaneous control and advanced learning. Both are required for a high level of self-regulation in an institution that stands for autonomy. (Academic advantage)

Authority in important questions cannot be transferred by the client, as a self-assuring attribute for having made the right choice. Authority can only come from an institution that is not only responsible for certain results, but also for their implementation into reality, be it in the interest of the client or not.

This sounds arrogant and is nothing but the essay to bring scientific expertise to the public, i. e. away from a grid of competing users.

(It would be useful to discuss the internal strategies to match with these high-aimed perspectives of broadening the fields of tasks for universities, but my focus demands a concentration upon the second challenge.)

5.

The first challenge meant a plea for a broadening field of influence by an institution of corporate comprehensive expertise. The second is directed towards the ethical and political claims that come from a specific category of academic knowledge. The scientific communities of the world are coming together by the pressure from problems that I call those of survival and living in dignity. Those problems have the quality of being universal and global, albeit their solution may be always decentralised and diachronic. Almost all problems or survival can be described in scientific terms, however, not all of them stem from realities in which science has played an important role. Thus, science sets the terms for a "discourse of survival", and the question, whether these problems can be solved is strongly attached to the authority of the institution that dominates the discourse.

The knowledge about problems and the possible solutions for these problems cannot only become transported by regular teaching or scientific transfer. It must be given direct access to the awareness of the people. A civil society that looks for soft and effective solutions for its problems, must look into the mechanisms that make some knowledge work not as effective than other. If we define all problems of survival as "public" problems, the prior goal is to confront the public with this specific knowledge, or with its specific problem. If the legitimation is not providet for by the proper democratic procedures of a give society alone, it should be prepared by its "republican" essence that is to make public what belongs to the public. And that is the rola that I want for universities more than ever. The authority will grow with the feed-back from the public. Let me give you an example for what I mean: When the Club of Rome published their first studies, public attention and awareness to ecological questions had to be transformed via social movements, political appeasement strategies, and the urging warnings from scientific minorities, until the main streams in research and teaching have taken over the ecological option as a central one. I want, for the universities, that they attain the authority to shorten that long way, which would imply more efficiency when approaching both public and problems. At the conference on the world climate this year we could observe how distructive the long ways can be between the perception by politicians, with all their dependencies, and the problem-solving expertise. The ethical option for universities could be to "educate" the public by handling the important knowledge in an adequate way.

This idea requires several reforms:

(a) **Universities must be given direct access to political decision-making**, when scientific expertise is in the possession of a - momentarily - **solution without alternative:** This should be valid for all negative decisions, i.e. prohibitions, delays, slowing downs. For positive decisions, the traditional way of scientific assessment should be used.

(b) **Universities must not be banned from giving recommendations that contradict political options.** Warning and critical teaching must be allowed, even if the process of decsion making has come to an intermediate end.

(c) Universities will comply with this task, **if their optimalizing comprehensiveness is given credit over the maximalizing splitting of knowledge, tools, implementation and ethics.**

Only both challenges combined and accepted will give the universities a solid stand against the forces that are willing to instrumentalize our capacities.

Henry Wasser

Government Intervention in Universities: Autonomy / Accountability

It has often been said that the United States with 3400 post-secondary education institutions in a variety of structures and with a complex diver-sity of programs can provide an answer to almost any problem raised in higher education. However at times the reply may be superficial and temporary without the necessary tempered- by-debate and long term con-cern that can lead to permanent solutions. Such may be the case with the notion of autonomy and accountability.

American universities came early to the evaluative state, defining evalu-ation as a conscious attempt to measure, register and discuss how well actual accomplishment of an activity or program matches the anticipated accomplishment. American higher education distinguishes between evalu-ation intended to gain insight and control of an activity (accountability) and evaluation intended to yield organizational learning i.e. a policy measure for an institution based on self-evaluation.

Another mode is to discriminate between evaluation of the content of an area, ex post evaluation and on-going evaluation (summative evaluation), and evaluation of decision-making processes and organization, process or organizational evaluation (formative evaluation).

Moreover, the American first notion of evaluation is to ask such questions as to possibility and usefulness. Should traditional evaluation be employed which may more exactly be called an appraisal? The assumption is that when goals are vague, the results are often an appraisal, not an evaluation. Other issues have been timing and type of evaluation - on-going, ex post, or organizational? What aspects, the whole or parts, of an area should be evaluated. Who should evaluate? - Professional groups, committees, expert individuals. Who has the responsibility? Who initiates, follows up and utilizes the evaluation?

With this brief American encounter, we can now proceed to European involvement with the topic.

A description of the general condition of higher education as it appears to government and society in Europe and the U.S.A. is in order - increased competition between institutions, growth of external uncertainty, greater selectivity in allocation of public moneys, more political "guidance" directed towards universities, shifting of markets toward science and technology, more continuing and professional education and greater access for disadvantaged groups, reduction in university influence on methods of assessment in the secondary schools, erosion of the binary line, pressures to adhere to common standards through demands for increased efficiency, value for money and public accountability.

Considerable consensus exists that the future will bring pressure for external validation of university curricula and awards, national employment of university staff in order to achieve rationalization through staff mobil-ity, shutting down some universities and ranking between the others, transforming basic core curriculum into distance-learning to reduce the labor intensity of university teaching etc.

Of course these present and anticipated conditions affect the autonomy of higher education institutions and the accompanying demand for account-ability.

Often the issue is phrased as the strategy of self-regulation and discussion of public policy-making in the field of higher education. It is thought that the last decades have seen a growing penetration of government into "the private life of higher education" (Trow). In the immediate past various governments in Western Europe designed and implemented policies which decreased the autonomy of higher education institutions and of the academic professionals working within these institutions. But recently a new strategy of governance in higher education has developed in which it would appear that the autonomy of universities is enlarged although some analysts insist that the mode of control has simply altered.

Reasons for tightening rather than loosening the grip governments have on universities include financial stringencies, the demands of the labor market and the formation of human capital. Reasons for diluting government control rest with the accompanying demand for greater accounta-bility.

If one concedes that the main objective for higher education systems is to produce scientific and technological breakthroughs and to educate profession-als to handle and organize the industrial innovations that follow these breakthroughs, then it follows that the two models for bringing this about involve either more government planning and control or a strategy of self-regulation.

For self-regulation this means a relocation of power within the system. Enlarging institutional autonomy will improve the performance of higher education. To have greater autonomy to shape their own activities, universities will have to take on their own responsibilities in education and research. Instead of ex ante control, there will be ex post control. Quality control will be the guiding phrase i.e. monitoring and evaluating activities with independent assessment by government. In the Netherlands this resulted in creating an inspectorate for higher education. For France a national committee for evaluation of instruction was established. Self-regulation thus suggested coordination, not governing.

Van Vught has pointed out that the customary three stage process of var-iation, selection, and retention can only partly take place in the strategy of self-regulation. Universities may have more autonomy than they used to have but the dynamics of the higher education system in this strategy are restricted by the coordinating and steering activities of government. Coordination under these circumstances is not a "coordination without a coordinator". Structural ordering and specializations in the system to a large degree are a result of diverse decisions and actions of government aimed at optimizing the system from the government's point of view. This self-regulation can also take two different, even opposing faces - traditional modes of central planning and control, and aspects of natural selection which in this use may be defined as interaction between an organization and its environment. The more an organization fits the environment, the more likely it is to survive. In the struggle to survive, competing for scarce resources, some universities will and some will not fit the characteristics of the environment in the phased process of variation, selection and retention.

And in this procedure, government may intervene by means of regulation by directive or regulation by incentive. Government cuts back on management of details but does not abandon claims to sovereignty over coordinating and steering the higher education sector. Preventive governance is replaced by repressive governance - a priori control by retrospective monitoring.

Many call this body of affairs an evaluative state with reward and sanction mechanisms in which competition for funds, as in Finland, often results in translating current social trends into development projects - biocities, data cities, science parks and technological villages. Academics suspect that the government's new strategy will throw universities from the arms of the State into the arms of the market and its rapidly shifting fashions. The evaluative state is seen as one in which assessment and accountability measures dominate, it describes wide-ranging social mobilization to confront the challenge of technological change and creates structures to consolidate such change. The pressure for an evaluative phase may be a response to mass higher education, but it is more likely to be the outcome of the progressively greater cost of research and higher education in economic and social development, as in Sweden et al.

Another word for this condition of the university's new autonomy is instrumental, describing the introduction of the university world into the universe of commercial competition. The foundations of a university's autonomy then lie in its freedom of research, freedom to teach and freedom to train. It is noteworthy that this last phrase is articulated in the 'Magna Charta of Universities' signed at the 900th anniversary celebration at the University of Bologna - "to train" would not be an objective of the Humboldtian university.

These developments occurred in different forms in several nations. In return for their 100 % subsidy, Dutch universities had to sacrifice some "freedom". Regulations concerning the organization, financial management as well as the quality of education and research were brought under ministerial control and jurisdiction. But the government could not restrict freedom of direction i.e. freedom to allow content and the tenor of education to be determined by religious convictions and world views, thus permitting Protestant/Roman Catholic identity to some universities.

In Finland the strategy of self-regulation brought about stress on comparison, imposition of competition between universities and between disci-plines, this predicating evaluation of productivity. The central government evaluates both the results and objectives and at the same time aims to steer their operations. One principle publicly stated was that each university or college might concentrate on developing a profile in its own areas of strength. Consequently, the division of labor would imply applied re-search and specialization among regional universities and inclusiveness including basic research in the Universities of Helsinki and Turku. An unintended outcome was pressure on the universities to compete with each other by putting forward special development projects meant to attract funds. Another driving force for regional higher education policy was the expansion of continuing education centers and projects whose common feature was their strong links and attachment to market forces, but their activities are to be assessed. Thus again we find that the greater freedom of decision over use of their funds by universities was in exchange for adopting an evaluation system. The call for performance measurement, indications, or productivity (accountability) has not yet resulted in a tem-pered-by-experience or consensually accepted model. It is useful to look back a bit.

The late 60's and early 70's in the Netherlands, for example, had forced greater participation from assistants, technical/administrative staff and students which seemingly required scientific research to renounce the university's "ivory tower" position and to show concern for its social relevance and political effects. The consequence was a new distribution of power with student and staff representatives having decisive voting power at each level of policy making - university, faculty and department. But along with this arrangement came that unique structure: an Excutive Board consisting of three people- an elected Rector and two appointees by the Minister - whose charge was management and control. The University Council functioning somewhat like a parliament whose charge was policy and budget, consisted of representatives of the professoriate, other teaching staff, technical administrative staff, students and society at large (industry, politics, and the social community).

When austerity and economic demands in general came to the Netherlands, performance measurements and accountability were bound to have difficulties in this structure. Yet apparently Dutch higher education was able to develop a mode of evaluating disciplines in all the universities with a view to increasing budget strength and a view to modernizing or making more instrumental curricula.

In Denmark persistent efforts and amendments to increase staff power, as against student power, in the highly democratized university system devel-oped in the late 60's and early 70's failed because of internal political coalition jockeying. Yet the government (executive) succeeded in circumventing this structure and bringing in a form of evaluation by creating new mechanisms to "neutralize" the "bad" effects of participatory democracy by transferring parts of the control over university government from university management to the Ministry of Education itself. This was done by creating a new system of central budgeting whose main effect is to transfer monies earmarked for education and research directly to the various budget sectors within the university, thus getting around the elected Sen-ate and elected Rector of the institution.

The 1986 Higher Education Development Act set out these circumstances for Finland. For quinquennium 1987 - 91 an annual increase in funding of at least 15 % in real terms for universities was coupled with greater freedom over the use of their funds. In return universities were required to adopt systems for the evaluation of their operations, to report at regular intervals on their results which would provide the basis for the further allocation of funds. A research team is now engaged in developing a model for performance measurement.

Norway has turned to planning a University Council of the four universities to establish for the first time a common set of rules and regulations for running the universities with the objective of insuring university auton-omy and creating objective assessments of performance. A research institute is presently engaged at a preliminary stage investigating the distribution of faculty time and evaluating productivity.

Of course, concern for just evaluation of performance existed for several years before its present acceleration. An OECD 1987 report on "Use of Indicators of Results in Universities" was based on a survey of 70 universities in fifteen countries. Most often indicated quantitatively were number of volumes and publications by academic staff (18), collocation of grad-uates in the labor market (17), and proportion of students graduating (13). Qualitatively there were evaluation by academic boards (10) and evaluation of teaching by students (9).

One hundred and twenty indicators included 41 indicators of results, 48 indicators of activity and 31 indicators of entrance and resources.

This report does not deal with the fact that such performance measurements as citation indices are suspect to a considerable number of teaching and research staff because of, among other circumstances, the factors of time lag, disfavoring of new inter-disciplinary fields of study, potential for abuse by group self-citing and problems of multiple authorship.

There are, moreover, additional products of the new evaluative state not covered by the previously mentioned report such as the notion that the issue of institutional leadership is a logical extension of the call for closer and more accountable systems of management, as well as of faculty productivity. A clear articulation of authority and responsibility for attaining pre-agreed goals is a prior condition either for maintaining that degree of autonomy which governments are prepared to grant university systems or in certain cases for extending further the degree of autonomy already granted.

And there are also idealistic calls in this time of anxiety about university autonomy such as one for the creation of collective bodies for social participation made up of recognized personalities or representatives of social, cultural and economic institutions to insure the irrevocable autonomy of the university at the same time as it is adapted to the needs of society. These bodies would be an instrument through which society could participate in and support the work of the university. For them to function efficiently, the rule of government would be limited to legislating the Boards' composition, election procedures and the legal capacities of those bodies.

It must be remembered that this critical age for universities, according to Clark Kerr, has two phases - the first was to provide greater opportunity to society for education followed by a second which emphasized competence. Stress on competence brought about concern for performance indicators, i.e. the evaluative state. It was soon realized that performance indicators could acquire their full meaning and significance only when they are deployed within a context where the overall objectives of the system are defined and known. In broad terms these goals are usually the production of highly qualified manpower, research and other social benefits such as consumption

In developing performance indicators, numerous problems became appar-ent. The process of citation, for example, of articles and books as illus-tration of productivity had to confront the fact that often four to ten years would elapse from actual research to citation index and this period was too long for meaningful evaluation. Again, the question arose as to wheth-er to employ norm or criterion references with more analysts awarding greater significance to evaluation by reference to a criterion. Further, there was the notion, seemingly contradictory, that a gain in productivity may be greater by allocating funds, marginally, not to the best but to the poorest performing departments.

Added value indicators were a standard for some observers i.e. as-sessment of productivity, for example, by measuring the knowledge and education of the student upon graduation not by reference to an absolute standard but by reference to his knowledge and education when he en-tered higher education.

Evaluation of performance refers not only to individual faculty but to discipline and department among universities, indeed to an overall ranking of universities by number of high-ranking disciplines. Of course, this ranking may be by poll of students, by poll of faculty, or by administrative judgment. There are weaknesses in those three approaches to evaluation. In illustration, one recent government use of 39 performance indicators in the U.K. dealt mainly with expenditures per F-T-E. and only incidentally with such significant matters as ratio of students to academic staff, of research graduates to number of students and occupation of graduates (after six months). External or government assessment committees do not appear to take into account different time scales for themselves and for the university in that the age structure of university staff has altered. Fac-ulty quadrupled after the war, especially twenty years ago with the consequence that they will be leaving in great numbers at the end of the century.

Still, the intent of performance measurement is clear i.e. to improve the quality of education within the university on the basis of the utilization of assessment information concerning output and qualities of the teaching and research process. This is to be achieved by direct feedback of the results to those concerned, department, faculty, researcher, in order to improve performance, to further development and to bring about change if necessary (intrinsic motivation) and by administrative measures such as allocation decisions with respect to personnel, financial means and time and individual decisions with respect to rewards, promotion, tenure, advancement, demotion or retrenchment (extrinsic motivation).

Now several modes of mesuring productivity have evolved. A typical one designed for Social Science productivity (in Mexico) is:

Publications

Age Curve

Inventive Capacity

Academic Qualifications

Teaching Experience

Research Capacity

Relative Cost of a Researcher

Evaluation by the Scientific Community

Work Capacity

Level of Scientific Commun-ications

Administrative Functions

Specific weight of variables:

Academic qualifications	20%
Research Experience	30%
Teaching Experience	10%
Publications	20%
Communication (Conferences etc.)	20%

Since the pressure is from government on university to establish methods of accountability, the task is costumarily assigned either to an existing research institute of higher education or a newly appointed interdisciplinary committee of researchers.

Recent Dutch experience is again salutary. The state gave a lump sum to universities for allocation within universities and within deartments and more freedom for personnel policy. In return a system of quality control and quality assessment was created which had the effect of loosening the rigidity of academic statutes, it was claimed. Two inspectorates were founded to function in the quality assessment, but in fact university admin-istrators state that the universities basically do the measuring of perform-ance. Disciplines were evaluated by outside peers, usually from the Academy or Research Council Committee. Assessments were conducted both for program and for research. It became clear that change comes about when evaluation was done not by the administrative bureaucracy, either state or university, but by peer faculty or professionals.

The first task is to stimulate the internal process of quality assessment among the teaching and research staff of the discipline under considera-tion. The aims of the evaluation must be clearly set forth with respect to program improvement, accreditation, internal planning, priorities allocation and improved managerial operations generally. Of prime importance is the process of quality assessment, more than the actual results of the observation. It was declared that quality assessment occurred only for program improvement, not allocation reduction. The public has the opportunity of reading the visiting committee's report although it is con-ceded that the oral report to the faculty is usually more candid.

There is a visiting committee for each of twenty-six disciplines which becomes active every five years, thus five disciplines are assessed each year. The members of the visiting committees are selected by the Board or Council of thirteen universities from nominations by university faculty in the discipline.

These observations are consonant with those of the university adminis-trators who operate the evaluation system. Indeed, they are sufficiently confident of the system's success, although faculty response is not yet in, to urge a network of universities among Northern countries similar in size and development for inter-country discipline assessment (Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Belgium).

Such a network seems feasible as a consequence of similar data showing the number of higher education students per 100.000 population: Netherlands 2792, Belgium 2546, Norway 2124, Finland 2733, Denmark 2271 and Sweden 2635 and in spending on the tertiary level as per- centage of total educational spending: Netherlands 26.6 %, Belgium 17.3 %, Norway 16.5 %, Finland 18.5 %, Denmark 20.7 % and Sweden 18.1 %.

Yet it should be clear that higher education systems are just at the beginning of the stage in which the notions of autonomy and accountability will be worked out during this period of changing relationships. While regional cooperation among small

North European countries appears possible, higher education systems in Western Europe are generally only at the commencement of the twinned ideas of autonomy and accountability.

Will the university again, as it so frequently did in the past, adjust to social demands? Will this second oldest institution of the Western world, next to the Catholic church in Kerr's ascription again coopt a threatening devel-opment? Or will the changes be of such magnitude that the very concept and form of university may be altered? Given the events that have ended the eighth decade of the century, not even the latter question can be summarily rejected.

Robert O. Berdahl / Susan Martin Studds

The Selective Enhancement of Quality in Florida's Postsecondary Education:
Tensions Between Excellence and Parity

Why Study State Quality Enhancement Efforts?

Early in the 1980s, policy makers and higher education agencies in some states intensified efforts to make quality improvement a key public-policy agenda item by employing assorted techniques to associate financing with performance objectives or quality measures. The use of competitive, categorical and incentive financial strategies (collectively identified in this paper as quality enhancement funding) is increasing among the states as a technique for influencing new developments in institutions. For example, a 1988 report from the Southern Regional Education Board, based on work by Caruthers and Marks, indicates that recently ten of the 14 SREB states have introduced some form(s) of "non-formula, special category funding." While base budgets obviously remain the major source of support, the selective enhancement of quality by the state represents a larger state role in influencinq new activities. States use budgets as means to achieve specific ends in higher education, and the identification of trends in budget techniques reveals various state expectations for institutions. Growth and expansion were the issue of the '60s; in the '70s the theme was retrenchment and cost reduction. In the '80s the topic is quality: its measurement and improvement, and its relationships to societal expectations, particularly state economic growth and demographic diversity. Concern for quality is reflected in revisions of budgetary processes, including the increasing use of categorical, competitive and incentive funding strategies.

The public is a source both of resources for, and of demands on, higher education. Higher education is seen as an integral part of any state's assessment of its quality of life. Increasing public interest in higher education has encouraged, if not required, state governments to become more involved in higher education management. In particular, any degree of financial austerity or aspiration to improve economic conditions causes legislatures to look more critically at institutional missions, at the variety and distribution of academic programs at operational costs, and at the vague concepts of quality and effectiveness. Traditional notions of arms'-length autonomy are called into question as demands for increased accountability are incorporated into state policy and budget processes. Accountability includes more than fiscal standards; the process can also seek to discover if institutions are playing an effective part in contributing to the economic well-being and social diversity of a state, and whether resources are used in accordance with priorities with which the state agrees. Accountability can take the form of an external judgment about both effectiveness and efficiency, and this judgment can be given in terms of both base budgets and special categorical mandates. As accountability has become more important to legislatures, some states have increasingly used distinctive and separate categorical, competitive and/or incentive programs to create and finance programs for state-set or state-endorsed priorities. Boyer and McGuinness, in 1985, surveyed the many different processes by which states were trying to improve quality in higher education. As approaches to allocating financial resources to institutions with the goal of improving the quality of higher education, they identified the following five:

1. Incentive or performance funding tied to such goals as educational improvement, assessment, fund raising, business partnerships.

2. Categorical funding for targeted academic programs, or for institutional or statewide centers of excellence.

3. Competitive grants for research projects and quality improvement.

4. Financial deregulation and other funding flexibility mechanisms tied to quality improvement.

5. Formula funding adjustments for quality enhancements such as no loss of revenues due to decreased enrollments.

This paper examines the operation and campus impacts of the first three types of quality enhancement strategies described above according to the way such programs have operated in Florida's senior institutions since I974 and of the first and third types as they have operated in Florida community colleges since 1983. These programs are analyzed against the background of the colleges' desire for autonomy and self-chosen objectives and the state's desire for accountability and state-related priorities for higher education. This brief account is taken from a full-length case study of the Florida programs which, for those who seek more details, will be available from the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance in 1990.

Why Study Florida?

There are many unanswered questions about changes in state campus fiscal relationships because the impacts and outcomes of the new programs have not been studied in depth. Florida has one of the longest and most complex histories in the use of these fiscal techniques, involving a mature range of programs including all three kinds of programs, the first of which began in 1974 when the state funded a grant program called Programs of Distinction, later recast as Centers of Excellence. In 1979, it redesignated the Centers program as an expanded Quality Improvement Program (QIP) and initiated a matching fund for an Eminent Scholars endowment program. In 1985, The High Technology and Industry Council was funded to award competitive grants to universities for collaboration with industry, and programs providing matching funds as incentives to reward campuses for attracting both "Major Gifts" and "New Donors" were established. In 1988, the Facilities Trust Fund was created (sometimes lovingly called "Eminent Buildings") and in

1989, an Equipment Trust Fund matching program was established. In addition, a garden variety of enhancement programs has been created for the large community college system in Florida. Among these are the Academic Improvement Trust Fund, something of a modest Eminent Scholars process, and the Sunshine State Skills fund, a smaller variation on the High Technology and Industry Council.

What are some of the contextual forces that prompted Florida legislators to start down these funding paths?

As a state that has experienced phenomenal growth since World War II, Florida has been preoccupied with expanding its higher education system and with promoting access. The senior institutions grew in number from three to nine, and 28 community colleges were created. The State Board of Education, made up of seven top elected state officials, oversees the Board of Regents and the State Board for Community Colleges. Since the 1970s, the State Board of Education has been assisted in planning and coordinating functions by the Postsecondary Education Planning Commission, a lay advisory body with staff drawn from higher education.

By the mid-1970s, growth slowed and key state leaders began to emphasize improvement of quality. With no state income tax and a population older than many states, Florida was compelled to consider selective enhancement because generous across-the-board additional funding was not an option. This selective process increased interinstitutional tension and led the state to design novel approaches which considered differing missions, student populations, program mixes, and regional needs. Thus, the various qualitative enhancement programs were created and implemented.

By 1988-89, the state had put $115.7 million into the categorical programs and $54.2 million through incentive grants for its senior institutions. More than 900 State University System (SUS) faculty positions, or about 16% of the total faculty work force, have been funded through these programs. While the amounts for the two community college programs are considerably smaller, later analyses given in this paper will reveal that they had significant impact on those institutions. Since 1983, the Academic Improvement Trust Fund generated approximately $6 million in state matching funds (and $9 million in private contributions), and since 1985 the Sunshine State Skills produced approximately $4.3 million in state matching funds (and over $11 million in private money)

Over and above the stated legislative purposes of the enhancement programs in Florida, there are two ways in which state "desires" can be made known, accompanying the relevant funds: legislative provisos (language in the state budget document having binding effects upon the department/activity in question), and 'letters of intent' (letters accompanying the budget from chairs of the legislative budget coxmittees whose language has been considered de facto binding). A consideration of these processes sometimes reveals a picture of changes in the relationships of state and campus, and of unintended impacts on institutions. To look at the state policy process in regards to initiation and implementation of policy, and at institutional responses and impacts, we interviewed about 25 persons connected with the state executive and legislative branches, the State University System office and the State Board of Community College office, and about the same number at each of six campuses: Florida State University; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University; Florida International University; University of North Florida; Miami-Dade Community College and Tallahassee Community College. To encourage maximum candor about the enhancement programs, all interviews were conducted off the record.

Major Themes: Excelience vs.Parity

In The Higher Education System (1983), Burton Clark analyzes the interplay of four broad social values as conflict and accommodation occur among them in the design and implementation of public policies in Western democracies. The four broad values, with some related sub-topics, are as follows:

1. Social justice: including parity, equity and equality.
2. Competence: including quality and excellence.
3. Liberty: includinq choice, initiative, innovation, criticism and variety
4. Loyalty: including economic, cultural, civic and military aspects of nation-buildinq.

In the context of Florida's policies for selective enhancement of quality in higher education, the interplay of the first two of these values emerged, as the tensions between and among campuses in a system and between and among units within a single campus as expressing the sometimes competing values of excellence and parity. As Clark points out, it is both normal and, according to democratic norms, legitimate for persons and unitsto aspire to parity in treatment. But, he adds, it is also normal, and for societies seeking creativity and progress, legitimate for distinctions of differential quality (however judged) to be invoked in the creation and implementation of public policies.

In Florida these values have played out both statewide and on campus; at the statewide level it took the form of a struggle by some of the public universities created after the University of Florida and Florida State University to move toward their status as comprehensive research universities. The two older universities, not surprisingly, have not always felt that such movement was wise -- or, as they couched their arguments, not in the "state's public interest." Existing and potential excellence at the two older universities would be jeopardized if the state's limited resources were spread too thinly in the interests of parity. Since the greater share of the fast-qrowing population is now located in regions housing the newer universities, it has not taken long for the political system to begin to reflect some of these internal System tensions or for the enhancement programs to show their effects.

While the community college system does not have the same kind of inter-campus tensions as the State University System, there are tensions at the campus level within both coxmunity and senior colleges when pressures emerge for equal treatment for all units in the face of proposed selective policies for either enhancement or retrenchment. In the context of our concerns with selective enhancement, we note that academic units resent not being included when some among them are singled out for special resources or development. Yet leaders (from presidents down to department chairs) usually acknowledge the necessity to take tough decisions protecting and enhancing quality where it already exists or where it could exist, given limited new resources. Thus, enhancement programs get caught up in the trade-offs between excellence and parity.

It should be clear, then, that at both the state and campus level, the legitimacy of the processes used selectively to enhance quality will be crucial. While the amounts of funds involved so far are relatively small compared to normal base budgets, the processes examined in Florida were on the cutting edge of system and campus reform and innovation, and furthermore, could be looked at as testing cases to see if the campuses within the system and the units within the campuses could learn to accept the legitimacy of these kinds of selective decisions.

Thus, in approaching the state, system and campus levels, we asked ourselves and our respondents variations on the following four general questions, the importance of each of which will be discussed in the concluding pages:

1. Quality Enhancement Funds: New Money or Off the Top of Base?

Here we sought the judgments of key actors, backed up by relevant facts where possible, as to whether some, most or all of the "new money" for quality improvement had in fact been taken off the top of normal base budgets and simply put into new baskets with conditions attached.

2. Substantive Purposes: Compatible with Academic Priorities or Distortions of Them?

Here we tried to hear and interpret responses from key persons at the state, system and campus levels as to whether, in their judgments and citing examples where possible, the basic impacts of the various enhancements programs embodying state priorities had also been compatible with system and campus priorities as these were defined by the relevant officers.

3. Procedural Accountability: Reasonable and Effective or Excessive and Counterproductive?

Here we tried to hear and interpret responses from interviewees as to whether, in their judgments and citing examples where possible, the processes used to monitor system and campus implementation of the enhancement programs had been reasonable and effective or excessive and counterproductive. These terms were defined by the respondents.

4 Policy Dilemmas: Reward the Strong or Strengthen the Weak?

Here we looked for explicit evidence and tried to interpret any implicit evidence that would throw light on whether at the state, system and campus levels the enhancement programs had been used more for rewarding strong campuses and programs or for strengthening weaker campuses and programs. These terms were defined by the respondents. (It is important to note here that the terms "strong" and "weak" are not used only with respect to an institution's research achievements; they can Just as well be applied to strengths relating to undergraduate education or other desired functions.)

Implementation of the Enhancement Programs

(Here we merely summarize the highlights of three of the major enhancement programs in Florida, but readers desiring more information are reminded that the full case study is available from the National Center.)

Categorical Funding. The Quality Improvement Program (QIP), begun in 1979 with roots in the 1974 Programs of Distinction and the 1978 Centers of Excellence, allocated funds to all nine campuses on the basis of a legislatively-determined formula which included equalization dimensions to protect the smaller campuses. The objectives of QIP were to provide augmented levels of funding to specifically targeted instructional programs and research, public service, and administrative activities within each of the universities in the SUS in order to:

1. elevate selected academic programs to a level of national and international distinction,
2. enhance the stature and quality of Florida's state university system as a whole.

There was an expectation in the appropriation for QIP that the money would go toward funding the Centers of Excellence. Between 1979 and 1981 each of the campuses in the SUS directed at least one half of its QIP to support Centers of Excellence. In 1980 the allocation for QIP increased from $9 million to $14 million but the continuation of funding for Centers of Excellence was uneven, ranging from 50% to 89% across the institutions. Institutions used the remaining QIP to enhance other academic programs, university development, faculty development and travel, student fellowships and assistantships, general administrative support, library enhancement, and computer support. For all ranks QIP salary averages exceeded national averages, thus supporting the contention that QIP funds enabled Florida universities to enhance faculty salaries to a competitive level. Despite the difficulty involved in measuring the effectiveness of the program, new funds continued to be provided for QIP, rolling the previous year's funds into the institutional base budgets. Along with the increase in money, however, came an increase in specificity about how the money was to be spent. Although the money was given as a lump sum to campuses, the legislature felt it was its responsibility to guide universities toward programmatic priorities for each university as they had been spelled out in Master Plans. Money was targeted for quality improvement, scientific and technical equipment, and library enhancement. Salary increases were given at presidential discretion to make the institutions comparable to institutions in the upper quartile and the salaries of the most distinguished faculty were increased through merit increases. Table One illustrates both the growth of QIP funds and the increase in use of proviso lanquage.

Although the purposes targeted by the proviso language clearly include improving the quality of higher education, the dominant elements of QIP seem more driven by concerns for parity in that the formula for distributing QIP funds provides more funds for smaller campuses than might be obtained in a purely competitive context.

Table 1 (con't)

State University System
Quality Improvement Program
Educational and General

(d) Allocation by institution included in proviso. Funds to be used to improve currently authorized instructional programs as determined by the institutions. Includes authority to use up to 20% of funds for faculty salary enhancements.

(e) Allocation by institution included in proviso. Primary use of funds to improve student faculty ratios in undergraduate instruction. Includes authority to use up to 15% of funds for faculty salary enhancements.

(f) Includes $1.0 million for law schools quality improvement and $12.0 million for enhancing university support (some of these funds were used to offset prior year budget cuts).

(g) Includes $1.0 million for law schools quality improvement. Provides that up to 50% of QIP funds ($5.5M) may be used for discretionary salary increases and 50% for reduced class size in English, math and foreign languages to a ratio of 1 to 22 at the undergraduate level.

(h) Includes $1.0 million for the quality improvement of law schools. Also includes $3.5 million to reduce class size in English, math and foreign languages to a ratio of 1 to 22 at the undergraduate level and to begin the development of a computerized student academic advising system. Enhanced plant maintenance $.9 million.

(i) Law schools quality improvement - $1.0 million; graduate assistants fee waivers - $3.0 million; plant maintenance - $5.0 million; student academic advising system - $1.2 million; enhanced institutional support - $4.0 million; 2% salary enhancement - $5.4 million; academic enhancement - $4.3 million (to continue to reduce class size in undergraduate math, English and foreign languages and for other instructional improvements approved by the board of regents).

(j) Includes $5,378,588 for improving undergraduate education (to reduce class size and to implement BOR report for improving undergraduate education); $2,511,600 for equipment enhancement; $1,818,000 for enhancing student services; $900,000 for enhanced library staffing; $2,957,883 for additional 1% for faculty salary enhancement above 4.5% basic pay increase; $200,000 for additional faculty awards; $2,083,795 for enhanced plant maintenance funding; and $1,016,259 for the second of a 3-year plan for the development of an automated student academic advising system; increased graduate assistant fee waivers $1,230,047.

Table 1

State University System
Quality Improvement Program
Educational and General

Year	Continuation Funding in Base	New Funding	Total Funds Each Year
1978-79	$ -	$2,000,000 (a)	$ 2,000,000
1979-80	2,000,000	8,974,058 (b)	10,974,058
1980-81	10,974,058	20,842,068 (c)	31,816,126
1981-82	31,816,126	8,000,000 (d)	39,816,126
1982-83	39,816,126	4,000,000 (e)	43,816,126
1983-84	43,816,126	13,000,000 (f)	56,816,126
1984-85	56,816,126	6,500,000 (g)	63,316,126
1985-86	63,316,126	5,404,436 (h)	68,720,562
1986-87	68,720,562	23,863,146 (i)	92,583,708
1987-88	92,583,708	18,095,872 (j)	110,679,580
1988-89	110,679,580	5,000,000	115,679,580

(a) Provides for the establishment of a Center of Excellence, as designated by the board of regents, at each of the nine universities.

(b) QIP funds allocated in accordance with CS/HB 1689 (five HEGIS discipline groupings). Provides for salary enhancements for the sole purpose of improving quality.

(c) QIP funds ($13.9 million) allocated in accordance with CS/HB 1689 (HEGIS groupings). Recommendations of a Joint Committee on Postsecondary Education to be considered in the allocation of these funds. An additional $6.9 million provided for critical class market place salary adjustments in accordance with the Oklahoma Salary Survey.

Incentive Funding. The legislature in 1979 also created incentives for institutions to generate their own sources of funds. The Eminent Scholars Program was created by Senator Gordon and Representative Hodes in order to strengthen the state universities by making it possible to add distinguished scholars to their faculties and to promote future excellence by stimulating private support from citizens and organizations. Universities, through their foundations, were able to raise private funds which were matched by the state in order to create endowed chairs. The legislature initially provided $10 million to be used as matching grants to endow chairs for eminent scholars at a rate of $400,000 state contribution for each $600,000 raised by the institution. An information summary in July 1988 reveals that many institutions are actively participating in the Eminent Scholars Program:

Inst.	Total	Fully Funded	Encumbered	In Progress(a)
SUS	138	75	31	32
UF	49	38	8	3
FSU	27	10	3	14
FAMU	4	0	4	0
USF	29	13	10	6
UCF	11	3	1	7
FAU	8	7	1	0
UWF	2	2	0	0
FIU	3	1	1	1
UNF	5	1	3	1

(a) indicates that the institution has begun but not completed fundraising for the establishment of a chair.

Clearly, incentive funding in Florida has most rewarded those campuses that are the oldest, biggest and most research-oriented, although even the smaller, newer campuses have also profited. But, on the strength of this program, one could conclude that incentive programs tend to reward some campuses and some units within campuses more fully than would have obtained under a parity-driven allocation process.

Competitive Funding. The Council for High Technology and Industry was first funded in 1985 through a special appropriation to encourage partnerships between universities, (both public and independent), and industry. Applied Research Grants are awarded competitively and require matching funds from either private or federal sources. To date the High Technology Council, through its Applied Research Grants Program, has provided $20.8 million state dollars to Florida universities for the purpose of high-technology research with significant commercialization promise. Here, too, the record is that competitive funding most rewards the older, larger and more research-oriented campuses, so we could also conclude that competitive programs tend to favor the stronger campuses and the stronger units within campuses.

The community colleges were relative newcomers to the enhancement funding scene, as their funding had historically been provided as a lump sum. However, the state and national responsivness to the business community was also felt in the community colleges, and in 1985 the Sunshine State Skills program was initiated. The program provides matching funds for proposals submitted jointly by businesses and community colleges. The money is awarded on a competitive basis to provide training programs for businesses. The funding criteria stress innovative training courses and methods which are not normally part of the community college curriculum. The program has sponsored 132 individual training programs, expending $4,275,040 in state funds with $11,285,299 provided through industrial matches. Since its inception, funding for the program has grown from $700,000 to $4,000,000.

The Academic Improvement Trust Fund, initiated in 1983, provides for state funds to be distributed to local community college foundations as a match to contributions from the private sector. This incentive funding program began as seed money to establish foundations for each of the community colleges. Having achieved that goal, it now provides matching grants on a basis of a $4 state match for a $6 contribution, for quality improvement in the general academic program. From 1983-84 to 1987-88 the legislature appropriated $1 million annually, and the annual appropriation was increased to $2 million beginning in 1987-88. The State Board for Community Colleges approves the use of funds through proposal submission and in the past endowed chairs, professional training for faculty, scholarships, and equipment have all been funded through the Academic Improvement Trust Fund. In addition to these two larger enhancement programs, several smaller programs exist to allow the community colleges to target funding in selected areas. The Reach-Out program provides state funding for proposals targeted at aiding disadvantaged students. Other targeted programs include the State Endowment for the Humanities, Math and Science Education, Technology Transfer Centers, Department of State Cultural Affairs, Nursing Education Challenge Grants, Library Automation, Literacy Centers, Small Business Development Centers, and a fairly sizable package ($6 million) for undergraduate enhancement.

Observations on the Florida Scene and Issues for Consideration of Enhancement Programs in Other States

First, we will try to answer the four major questions cited earlier in terms of the perceptions of the key actors interviewed at the state, system and campus levels in Florida. Then, we will offer our own hypotheses about ways in which state enhancement programs can be mounted and implemented so as to accommodate Burton Clark's four major values, including, in particular, the trade-offs between Excellence and Parity. Finally, we will attach in an Appendix a Research Protocol containing a series of "If--, Then --" propositions connected to four models of analyzing state enhancement programs according to political values other than our own. It is our hope that others will supplement this very limited study of the Florida scene and that later we can build insights based on cross-state comparisons and analyses.

Empirical Findings

Quality Enhancement Funds: New Money or Off the Top of Base?

We found that legislators are more likely to vote additional dollars to higher education if they know in advance, and approve of, the special purposes for which the funds will be spent. The various enhancement programs in Florida thus in one sense could be viewed as devices to provide additional funds over normal base increases in a manner legislators can accept and rationalize, considering their reluctance to give up 'credit' for spending specific state revenues. Furthermore, state legislators at their regional and national meetings are increasingly hearing about the desirability of linking enhancement funding to performance criteria. And there is some evidence that state political figures are becoming more sophisticated about the implicit incentives in base budgets and that even the rhetoric for justifying base budgets is beginning to be driven by more conscious concerns for quality enhancement, economic growth and/or minority affairs.

On the other hand, there is evidence to bolster a skeptic's view that most of the enhancement process in Florida has been 'smoke and mirrors' (a respondent's phrase) to put categorical strings on otherwise discretionary state dollars without adding substantial new funds. The record from 1955 to 1985 reveals that the State University System received between 10 and 11 per cent of the state budget each year. This strengthens the argument that the programs more often than not merely provide old money in new packages. It is not possible, however, to rule out the theoretical possibility that, in the absence of specific enhancement programs to justify tax funds, cuts might have been made or that lesser increases might have been given.

The record shows that categorical funds for library research and instructional equipment incorporated in capital budgets in the late '70s were new funds. And beginning in 1985, the percentage of the state budget going to SUS increased modestly, reinforced by the legislative allocation of state lottery funds. At the time the first interviews were conducted, higher education leaders expressed disappointment that the legislature was using the 'education share' of lottery funds too much to replace base budget support rather than, as widely touted in the lottery campaign, to improve all levels of education by adding real "new money". Recent interviews to update information reveal that the lottery proceeds are now being used more as originally intended. Of the major programs reviewed for this study during the years 1979-89, enhancement funds of over $200 million were allocated to the SUS, and from 1983-89 over $10 million were granted to the community colleges. (Incidentally, community college leaders interviewed were more of the opinion that their enhancement funds really did represent new dollars.) These totals represent only state dollars and not the additional, substantial private funds gained through the matching process. Regardless of whether the state funds going into the incentive funding programs were taken from or added to the base, the fact is that these programs undoubtedly motivated the campuses to become more aggressive in raising private funds, and thus provided new income that otherwise would not have been there. Although it is possible that most institutions would have expanded their development offices even without the state incentive funds, their success probably would have been significantly less without the attraction of the state matching provisions. So much has this been the case that private sector institutions in Florida are now asking to be included in the state matching programs.

Our empirical finding on this issue is that in Florida until recently most of the enhancement funds seem to have been taken out of base budgets, but that some real "new money" a) came in the 1970s via capital enhancement funds; b) was generated through the state matching provisions in both the incentive and the competitive grant programs; c) was appropriated in modest amounts for the community colleges; and d) seems to be appearing now for both junior and senior institutions via the state lottery process.

Substantive Purposes: Compatible with or Distortions of Academic Priorities?

The 1979 legislative actions on enhancement (both the QIP categorical funds and the Eminent Scholars incentive funds began then) responded both to the SUS 1978 Master Plan and to testimony of the campus presidents before a joint session of two House committees. However, we were told that at least some presidents, finding it difficult to make campus selective enhancement decisions themselves, privately welcomed the state enhancement initiatives while at the same time yielding to the understandable temptation to 'blame' the distant state authorities for imposinq their priorities on their campus. Privately, we were told, some presidents would have made the same difficult choices.

The purposes of the Florida High Technology and Industry Council competitive grants, added in 1985, were generally acceptable to the senior colleges, although their individual ability to tap into this new source of funds differed greatly by institutional location, size, antiquity and role and mission. In summary, there was substantial agreement on the worthiness of the Centers for Excellence process, the Eminent Scholars program, the other incentive grants, and the High Technology competition. A more mixed verdict was given by campus leaders for the Quality Improvement Program: campuses emphasizing undergraduate work found it helpful, if somewhat prescriptive (see Accountability analysis below), while those stressing graduate work and research might have preferred more discretion in spending the QIP funds to bolster their national reputations as research universities.

While we heard of a considerable number of "unintended consequences" from senior campus officials, these related mostly to such items as problems in dealing with jealousies between recipient and non-recipient units, or of handling unexpected costs related to receiving expensive Eminent Scholar positions, and did not seem to raise issues of forcing unnatural campus priorities.

Nor did community college leaders interviewed identify substantial criticisms or any major 'unintended' consequences. Although the colleges registered greater impacts from the state-mandated student assessment programs, we found no major concerns over the post-1983 state enhancement programs.

Procedural Accountability: Reasonable / Effective or Excessive / Unproductive?

Even though most of the enhancement funds seemed to have been put into prescribed categories of expenditures where state procedural controls could be expected, two practices were followed -- one official and therefore legitimate, and the other unofficial and subject to concern -- which mitigated some of the potentially rigid effects of the prescribed procedures for implementing the enhancement programs. First, while the Eminent Scholars funds went into special endowment accounts and the Council on High Technology and Industry competitive research grants were also handled separately, the Centers of Excellence and Quality Improvement funds (the largest funds of the three types of programs) were rolled into base budgets after the first year. Although it is still possible to identify faculty and support lines as QIP-funded, with each passing year, more campus flexibility emerged. But campus leaders reported to us that, while proviso language did bind them to certain kinds of expenditures with QIP funds (e.g.lowering class size of lower division classes in English, math and foreign languages), they did retain some flexibility, particularly after the legislature accepted the State University System's Criser Report on the Improvement of Undergraduate Education as a general guide to acceptable expenditures.

However, the 1989 legislative hearings on the SUS Criser Report Implementation produced some signs that legislative impatience is growing with SUS vagueness about responding to state-mandated priorities for the improvement of undergraduate education. The SUS management information system has allowed legislators and their staff to see that the percentage of SUS instruction expenditures had decreased, apparently in favor of research and academic administration budgets, and that faculty/student ratios still have not met mandated state targets in spite of earmarked QIP funds to lower class size. This moved the legislature to mandate that the SUS move to achieve the student/faculty ratio goals by 40% in the next year, 40% the year after that and 20% in the third year. One senses that greater reliance may be placed in future years on explicit performance criteria.(To pass on judgments that these may come is one thing; to judge that they will be effective is another. We will have further comments on the accountability dimensions in the following section incorporating our own value perspectives.) Both the SUS and the community college leadership expressed concerns about the unofficial practice of "supplanting" or taking funds from the base of units receiving enhancement grants and redistributing them according to internal priorities. For those who distinguish between the spirit and the letter of the law, there is a sense of unease with this practice. The temptation to campuses to divert funds according to higher local priorities may be evidence that campuses will 'game' state efforts to prescribe priorities and/or that compatibility between state-set and campus-set priorities is low. At this point, it is felt by both system offices that the amount being supplanted is 'minor' but the problem is being watched.

It is our empirical finding in the domain of procedural accountability, then, that so far the state controls have been reasonable and ineffective but that signs are showing that they may become "effective and unreasonable" (on which more below).

Policy Dilemmas:Reward the Strong or Strengthen the Weak?

There was tension over this balance at both the state and campus levels. The legislature altered its priorities from an early emphasis on concentrating resources on Excellence in the form of either existing strengths or great short-run potential, to a later set of more complex programs which gave mixed signals. Most of the QIP fund proviso language related to the equitable improvement of undergraduate education across all campuses, but the incentive and high tech programs tended to favor Excellence by favoring campuses with existing strengths of fund raising or research. Thus, the legislature hedged on the position of Excellence and Parity, but overall, the enhancement programs can be judged to have leaned toward excellence. This is reinforced in part by the role of the Postsecondary Education Planning Commission which, from its start in 1980, has given increasing emphasis to Florida's pursuit of excellence in postsecondary education.

At the campus level, the two universities we visited which have or aspiring to research missions obviously welcomed the reinforcement of their ability to selectively build on existing strengths provided by the incentive and competitive grant programs. The other two senior institutions, both more oriented to undergraduate education, found the QIP categorical funds more compatible with their goals and obviously welcomed the parity provisions in the legislatively-mandated allocation formula.

Within each campus visited, we noted some pressures on senior academic administrators to mitigate the symbolic and budgetary consequences of selective enhancement processes which signalled a few "winners" and many non-recipients, to use the practice of supplanting funds from enhanced to non-enhanced units in the interests of parity. As noted above under Procedural Accountability, it is the judgment of both system offices that this practice has not yet become a major problem, but that it obviously bears watching.

Leaders interviewed in both state government and the community colleges agreed that both the Academic Improvement Trust Fund and the Sunshine State Skills program operated to build on existing strengths (excellence). In particular, Miami-Dade had instituted its own FIPSE-like grant processes even before the community college enhancement programs began, so the commitment to excellence there is clear. However, one should note that the basic mission of the community colleges also leads them, through regular budgeting and academic practices, to put great emphasis on parity as well.

For our purposes, we make the empirical finding that the categorical, incentive and competitive enhancement programs in Florida have served both Excellence and Parity values, differing from one type of program to another and from one type of campus to another. The predominant thrust, however, has been to reward and encourage Excellence.

Speculations on Broader Meanings Based on Our interpretation of Burton Clark's Four Values

As noted by Burton Clark, the two values of Excellence and Parity (called Competence and Justice in the Clark taxonomy) interact with each other and with two other broad values identified by Clark as Liberty and Loyalty. The four values experience conflict and accommodation in most Western democratic societies, in higher education as in other social domains. According to Clark, accommodation is more successfully achieved in higher education systems when they are diverse than when they are more simple structures. Clark goes on to offer the following generalizations about the most effective ways to realize each value in a context of mutual accommodations:

Competence (Excellence) is best realized in systems that have a distinct vertical differentiation among institutions (or systems) and that reward each level according to differentiated notions of competence.

Liberty is most effectively realized when it works horizontally through multiple sectors, sub-sectors and even single institutions enjoying maximum degrees of local, sub-sector and sector autonomy.

Justice (Parity) is most effectively implemented if it is distributed institutionally rather than being applied blanket fashion across the entire system.

Loyalty. in terms of effective institutional responses to the public interest as interpreted through state actions, can best be realized by the state using long-run rewards and accountability patterns rather than short-run sanctions.

Clark knows that this package reflects some value ambivalence, but justifies this by saying it is mirrored in structural ambivalence: academic systems are usually very complex and most institutions in them tend to operate as "flat hierarchies" where professionals teaching in the classroom and undertaking research in the labs must be brought, individually and collectively, to learn to monitor themselves and their institutions according to internalized high professional norms.

Given this complex set of inter-relationships among crucial values, it is our judgment that state enhancement programs will stand the greatest chance of achieving their presumed objectives of effecting lasting change and reform within the universities if they are sensitive to the four hypotheses below, revisiting the four major questions and now placing them in broader perspective

If one accepts our major premise, based on the Clark value analysis that more lasting changes will be effected through provision of substantial funds with substantial institutional participation in both setting enhancement priorities and determining state modes of accountability, most of the following hypotheses will seem to be elaborations on the obvious. For those who have other value orientations, we do offer a Research Protocol which will suggest models of enhancement programs to respond to different value perspectives.

Enhancement Funds: New Money or Off the Top of Base?

State quality enhancement funds will have a more enthusiastic reception by the universities and colleges if funds can be shown to add new money to base. When enhancement funds are supplied in the place of normal increases in budgets, institutional reactions are negative. To accomplish the state mission of achieving quality improvements in specific areas through use of enhancement funds, the institutions must internalize and make permanent the changes. This requires cooperation, not reluctant compliance with minimum requirements. Therefore, we offer Hypothesis I:

> In order to secure the cooperation of institutions, states should use quality enhancement processes only when the funds involved can be identified as new money.

Substantive Purposes: Compatible with or Distortions of Academic Priorities?

Universities are more likely to cooperate if they have taken a meaningful role in the process of deciding on the substantive purposes to be served by the enhancement grants. However, some would argue that institutions will accept new money for any purposes. Based on this field study, we would distinguish between their accepting funds in a compliance mode and their welcoming the funds with eagerness to implement the programs in question, ready to institutionalize subsidized activities which are found successful. Therefore, we offer Hypothesis II:

> In order to secure the cooperation of institutions for successful implementation, state quality enhancement programs should pursue academic improvement purposes which the institutions have helped define and select.

Cynics might observe that institutions gladly accept grants from foundations, gifts from donors and research grants from businesses - many with specific strings attached. So why should they treat conditional funds offered by the state differently? We would argue that most institutions do not see the state as just another external source of funds because the state also sets the context of law and procedures within which the institutions must operate. It is also often the source of power to appoint governing board members, and usually provides the bulk of basic financial support.

Although institutions have been known to reject external gifts and donations if the conditions are considered extreme or incompatible with the institution's mission or sense of integrity, it is unlikely that institutions would dare hazard state political resentment by refusing to at least comply with state enhancement programs. The intent of Hypothesis II is to achieve the higher level of cooperation deemed crucial to successful implementation.

Procedural Accountability: Reasonable / Effective or Excessive / Counter-productive?

State political figures have every right to expect public sector institutions to furnish information for accountability purposes, but the irony is that if they demand "too much, too soon", the universities and colleges may move to the compliance mode and only go through the motions of intended behaviors without actually internalizing them.

Through such behavior, institutions may also be wounding themselves (though obviously, they think not), but the state also loses because it badly needs vital and self-renewing universities and colleges. Each misses the opportunities which develop through a healthy, negotiated partnership.

It is undoubtedly frustrating for non-academics (particularly members of the executive and legislative branches of state and federal governments) to be told over and over again that institutions of higher education need academic freedom for the unhindered pursuit of 'truth', as well as substantial amounts of autonomy in order to choose goals appropriate to their academic missions and to pursue such goals through means appropriate to the specific institutional and state context. Even recognizing that academics are as capable as Charley Wilson of mistaking their specific self-interests for the general interest, persons in state government need to consider that if our application of Clark's values analysis to state enhancement programs in higher education is correct, then irritation with the smugness, complacency and arrogance sometimes found on campuses must not block the state's willingness to take the most effective measures to accomplish meaningful reform. Some authors writing about academic freedom and autonomy have broadened their arguments to rise above mere pleading for special status: there is a strong public interest in having vital and effective institutions of higher education, and autonomy and academic freedom contribute to that well-being. At their best, universities and colleges can be a key resource for advancements in the quality of life for a state's citizens; states therefore should apply accountability patterns which avoid inordinate and thereby potentially counter-productive pressures on institutions.

Therefore, we offer Hypothesis III:

> In order to leave maximum flexibility for institutions to implement quality enhancement programs, states should look more to long-run assessments using both quantitative and qualitative measures than to short-run assessments using quantitative measures only.

Howard Bowen (1974) has commented well on the great complexity, but also the crucial importance, of higher education working to develop long-range qualitative outcome measures:

> To evaluate outcomes is difficult partly because it is hard to sort out causes and effects, partly because the final outcomes may not be known for decades and partly because some of the most significant outcomes may be impossible to identify or measure in objective terms. Yet, despite the difficulties, educators have an obligation to assess outcomes as best they can, not only to appease outsiders who demand accountability but also to improve internal management. ...There are some useful procedures for obtaining quantitative data on outcomes, and ongoing research (which should be multiplied many times) will produce more ways of measuring outcomes. Inevitably, however, the assessment of outcomes will require large elements of judgement. One of the problems is to bring to bear on evaluation the judgement of professionally qualified but disinterested persons (p. 121).

Policy Dilemmas: Reward the Strong or Strengthen the Weak?

It is possible that the choices are equal and obscure: the state might derive as much value from strengthening a weak institution as from rewarding a strong one. The priorities to be chosen will obviously depend on the particular conditions, political history, and personalities existing in a particular state. Considering the Florida experiences in light of Clark's lines of analysis, we choose to emphasize the multiple natures of enhancement programs and the multiple ways that they play out across the different institutions. Thus, we offer Hypothesis IV:

> In the interests of serving both Excellence and Parity in public systems of higher education, states which institute quality enhancement programs should do so using several different types of programs: competitive and incentive types which seem to serve Excellence more, and categorical types which can be fashioned to serve Parity.

Alternative Perspectives for Other Value Systems

State enhancement funding programs constitute one part of a three-cornered state policy package which, in different proportions and at different speeds, one sees emerging now in several states around the country.

1. First, states which feel unable or unwilling to add sufficient new funds for across-the-board quality

improvements in postsecondary education may turn increasingly to selective enhancement of such quality improvements through categorical, competitive and/or incentive funding programs.

2. Second, if the campuses will not be receiving substantial new funds for across-the-board improvements, the state can do the next best thing by granting them broad flexibility to make maximum good use of the base budgets.

3. Finally, as something of an exchange for selective enhancement of quality and more management flexibility, the institutions would agree to participate in a long-range outcomes assessment process which would comtine quantitative and qualitative elements and be sensitive to the great complexity of multiple and diverse institutions.

A more value-neutral analysis is presented in the following Research Protocol which, as mentioned earlier, lays out a series of "If --, Then --" Propositions responding to several different value perspectives and presenting four models for state enhancement programs which respond to these differing value perspectives.

We hope that the Research Protocol will be helpful to others who may wish to go more deeply into analysis of state quality enhancement programs than we were able to do in a one-state study. It is our conclusion after completing the Florida case study that this is a "cutting edge issue" and can be viewed more broadly as part of the emerging package of state policies described above. If realized, this package could contribute greatly to improved relations between state governments and their public systems of higher education.

RESEARCH PROTOCOL FOR NCPGF STUDY OF STATE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE QUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The Main Policy Issue

With federal budget problems, the already primary state role in public higher education is becoming even more crucial. While many states have passed through some periods of affluence (e.g. energy-rich states during the OPEC crisis) in general most states regard their resources available to maintain and improve higher education as "limited".

A major policy question to be confronted in this area is whether, given the usual limited state resources to improve higher education, it is better to a) concentrate those resources on program areas/campuses considered "weak" in order to bring them up to standard; b) spread the resources evenly (and thinly) across all existing units; or c) concentrate the resources on rewarding the units considered "strong" or with the most creative/effective responses. There is no answer based on theory as to which of these policy alternatives is "correct". Instead, each state will have to judge for itself which policy choice most appropriately "fits" that state's history, institutional patterns, politics and personalities.

What policy analysis can do, however, is to inform state decision-makers as to possible gains and losses in going each route. The third choice, relying more on rewarding strong programs by using enhancement strategies, has been the focus of the study in Florida. The Florida case study and any future state case studies can offer specific policy guidance regarding projected gains or losses expected by states choosing to reward stronger units by channeling limited new funds into categorical, competitive or incentive funding programs which are termed here "selective enhancement of quality improvement".

Preliminary Observations Based on Florida's Use of Categorical/Competitive/Incentive Funding to Improve Quality

If a state adopts policies using categorical, competitive and/or incentive funding, then it can expect variations on the following gains and losses:

Gains

a) some innovations occur, but how deeply rooted they become at the campus level may depend on some process variables (see propositions below).

b) assuming that innovations do last, other units may copy good ideas but effective dissemination is to some extent dependent on process variables (see below). c) innovations may stimulate other sources of support (e.g federal grants, industry contracts). d) symbolism of rewarding success may motivate weaker units to try harder with existing resources.

Losses

a) Some cynicism about whether new money for categorical/incentive funding is really new or has been taken off the top of normal base.

b) Some jealousy aroused between successful and unsuccessful units/campuses.

c) Concerns with accountability, related to process variables (see below).

d) Concerns with dissemination, related to process variables (see below)

Conceptual Framework

In the absence of any organization theories which fit the complex multi-level state system/ campus relationships involved in state categorical grant programs, we offer the following set of models.

A categorical grant program is essentially a strategy designed to foster change which allows institutions the option either to participate or not participate. Within this strategy there are (in Figure 1, below) four theoretical models: (1) "Laissez-Faire" (Category I), (2) "Focused Change" (Category IIA), (3) "Stimulated Change" (Category IIB), and (4) "Guided Change" (Category III).

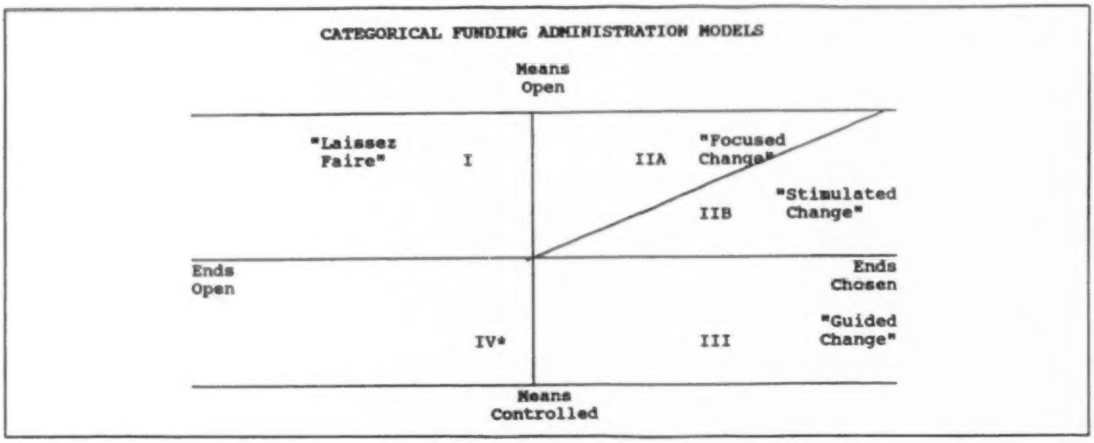

Figure 1

Although in theory there could be a fifth model in which the ends are left open but the means of implementing the projects are controlled, such a combination is unknown to us.

Model 1: Category I Laissez Faire (Ends and means open; no state control)

The Laissez Faire approach is one in which the state exercises little control over the content of initiatives and is not interested in regulating its administration. Funds are simply made available to institutions with a good idea and with a good plan for developing the initiative. The concern is for fostering change and rewarding it whether or not it serves the state's priority interests. The state's role is to make funds available and to run a fair and equitable process. The state does not formally monitor funded initiatives and has no specific expectations for results or dissemination. This approach is non-threatening to institutions, may stimulate diverse and interesting ideas, and may provide a sense of enthusiasm about innovation and a greater readiness to commit institutional resources to making it permanent. Its shortcoming is the lack of systematic accountability; evaluation of what has been accomplished and the dissemination of exemplary approaches to others is left to the initiative of the grantee.

Model 2: Category II A **Focused Change** (Ends chosen by institutions; means open, 'imited state control)

The Focused Change approach uses the grant application guidelines to direct or focus grant projects into prescribed priority areas, but lets the responding institutions play a collective role in identifying those priorities, and lets each institution design its own projects within a priority area. The intent is to encourage several different creative initiatives to accomplish a limited number of outcomes (e.g., recruitment, retention, assessment, general education reform, faculty development, etc.). The state's major role is to establish a process that enables the institutions collectively to set a focused agenda and individually to determine for themselves the best ways of accomplishing that agenda. This approach has most of the advantages of the Laissez Faire model, but concentrates initiatives into a few key program areas that ideally reflect institutional interests, or at least a convergence of institutional and state interests. The focus on outcomes facilitates evaluation and accountability, although the state's role in monitoring, assisting, and disseminating change is limited. The early involvement of institutions in identifying priorities tends to make them more aware of what other institutions are doing.

Model 3: Category IIB **Stimulated Change** (Ends chosen by state; means open, moderate state control)

In the Stimulated Change approach, like the Focused Change approach, the ends or priorities of the program's funding are chosen, but here it is the state. not the institutions as represented in an advisory body, that controls the selection of priorities. The intent is to provide for the commission staff or other state-level actors to set the priorities in accordance with state interests and needs, but not to prescribe the project methods employed to address those needs, nor to direct strongly the desired change once funded. However, a moderate degree of state-level control is exercised through progress reporting, monitoring and assistance, and evaluation to identify projects worthy of dissemination.

This approach can remove some of the enthusiasm for innovation if an institution's priorities are not congruent with the state's.

Model 4: Category III Guided Change (Ends and means both chosen; substantial state control)

In the Guided Change approach, the state or state commission establishes the focus of initiatives and also acts to guide or assure that funded initiatives are proceeding satisfactorily. In essence, supplementing formula-based funding strategies, the categorical funding approach is used to direct institutional change in certain specified areas. Here, the state not only chooses funding priorities that are consistent with state needs, but is extensively involved in the project from beginning to end, rendering formative and summative evaluations as well as technical assistance. The state requires dissemination, and assumes a joint responsibility with the institution for disseminating and replicating successfully demonstrated models and practices. This approach has the rational appeal of directing, controlling, and accounting for change efforts. While grants are used only to entice competition, institutions which elect not to participate do not receive supplementary development funds and run the risk of being viewed as non-responsive to state initiatives.

Table 1 presents a summary comparison of the models.

Model	Purpose	State Involvement	Monitoring	Disseminati
1. Laissez Faire (Category I)	Foster and reward change	Initiates open-ended availability of funds	None	None requi
2. Focused Change (Category IIA)	Support concentrated change efforts	Initiates process to establish priorities	Limited	None formalized
3. Stimulated Change (Category IIB)	Respond to state needs	Establishes priorities for initiatives	Moderate	Moderate, voluntary
4. Guided Change (Category III)	Redirect institutional effort	Establishes priorities and guides implementation	Substantial, formative and summative	Extensive required

Table 1: Comparison of four categorical funding models

Preliminary Propositions Based on Florida Study

Proposition No. 1

If primary emphasis is placed on accountability (encouraging detailed institutional compliance with state-sanctioned priorities for quality improvements) then Model 4 above, Guided Change, will be favored because it indicates a strong state role both in determining the ends to be served by the program and in monitoring the means by which they are achieved.

Proposition No. 2

If primary emphasis is placed on encouraging institutions to take ownership of and make permanent the improvements funded by state categorical funds, then Model 1, Laissez Faire, will be favored because it grants institutions maximum freedom in determining both the purposes for which the state categorical funds will be spent and the means by which this will be done.

Proposition No. 3

If more emphasis is placed on programmatic focus than that delivered by Model 1, Laissez Faire, and more emphasis is placed on institutional flexibility than that delivered by Model 4, Guided Change, then Model 2 or Model 3, Focused Change or Stimulated Change will be favored because these two models call for both more program focus and more institutional flexibility. As regards the choice between Models 2 and 3:

Proposition No. 4

If greater emphasis is placed on the institutions collectively agreeing to the program focus, then Model 2, Focused Change will be favored.

Proposition No 5

If greater emphasis is given to choosing a program focus that is a state high priority, then Model 3, Stimulated Change will be favored.

Interview Protocol

Using the above models and propositions as a framework, we propose a list of questions:

A. Research Questions

1. What is the nature of the state policy-making process that produces these quality improvement categorical funding initiatives?

2. What are the institutional response strategies to these state initiatives?

3. What are the institutional practices of implementation of these state policies?

4. What are the institutional impacts, intended and unintended, of these initiatives?

5. What guidance can we offer to key decision-makers at the state and institutional levels regarding ways to improve the process?

B. Policy Formation Questions

6. At what level are the purposes of the categorical funding determined, and by whom?

7. At what level are the administrative means of carrying out the categorical programs determined, and by whom?

8. What differences do these variables seem to make in terms of achieving the intended consequences of the programs?

9. What differences do these variables seem to make in terms of creating unintended consequences of the programs?

C. Policy Implementation Questions

10. What are the opinions of state and campus personnel, about whether categorical funds constitute new state funds or are taken off the top of normal base budgets? What evidence supports these opinions?

11. What purposes are served by categorical funding? Are they broad / narrow? Do they change rarely / frequently? Are they considered by campus personnel to be compatible with "academic values"? Are they considered by state personnel to be compatible with "state goals"?

12. How are institutions held accountable for use of funds? What evaluation mechanism is used to insure accountability?

13. What kind of dissemination practices are used to spread information about innovations judged to be successful?

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